

Maclean's

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Can They Ever Be Friends?



SEMADAR HARAN

In 1979, PLO gunmen killed Semadar Haran's husband and four-year-old daughter. Then, hiding in a closet, she accidentally smothered her two-year-old girl while trying to keep her quiet.

At 14, Neema Il-Helo threw grenades at Israelis. At 20, she lost her right hand and the sight in her left eye. She has been jailed five times.

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NEEMA IL-HELO



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56 POTHEINGHAM



32 The recession that took the country in its teeth in 1990, feeling more like the bite of a full-scale depression, seemed to be loosening its grip at the outset of 1993. Statistically, the slump is over but, even if so, its grim aftermath darkened the year for Canada.



18 In the face of intensifying violence, Israeli and the Palestine Liberation Organization are getting ready to implement an historic peace accord. Can the long-frustrated dream of peace become a reality? On both sides of the conflict, courageous men and women, Muslims and Jews, are working to keep the hope alive—for the natives and their children.



48 More than a decade ago, two Montreal journalists invented a board game called Trivial Pursuit. Its rising success made them millionaires and sparked a flurry of creativity in Canada. Board games have been a traditional staple of Canadian summers and long, cold winters.



Smoke scream

The answer to cigarette smuggling ("Up in smoke," *Canada*, Dec. 6) seems so simple. Instead of getting into a shooting match with smugglers on the St. Lawrence, let's go after the boys in the tobacco board rooms. Tax the manufacturers of those cigs rather than subject both provincial and federal treasuries. With the much-hyped opportunities in political lobbying, it should be easy.

Dave Hillier,
Ottawa



Smuggling in Cornwall, Ont.: tax manufacturers of cigarettes to offset losses

It seems that after every time I read an article in *Canada*'s Ottawa cigarette smuggling trade, I should have my handy screwing for cover whenever we go out. I am not debating that Cornwall is the centre of the cigarette smuggling trade in Canada, nor am I saying that this is a good thing for our city, but it should be known that the smuggling does not affect local citizens who are not directly involved with it. There is no Dunder City in Cornwall; there are no gangbangers in the streets; and Mayor Ronald Martell should stop portraying our already recession-battered community as such a dangerous place to live and to do business.

Johnny Dupuis,
Cornwall, Ont.

Stand up for men

Fred Manning wears pants! If you read proof, read his ridiculous column of Nov. 29 ("Women only women in battle at the scene" *An American View*). Well I for one am a man, not a wing and I repudiated by reject generalization. I fully support women's striving for economic equality, I have never attacked a woman in my life, regardless of provocation and I will defend to my last who does. However, I refuse to stand by any longer and watch my fellow man become psychologically emasculated for fear of today's thought police. The challenging attitude of the outspoken journalist of today is going to reap a bitter harvest.

L. D. Sord,
Toronto Island, B.C.

Fighting back

The article about the Statistics Canada study of violence to women ("New measure of violence," *Canada*, Nov. 29) is another unfortunate chapter in the never-end-

'Solicitude'

Perhaps I can calm the touching and feverish solicitude of CPB's Andy Davis for my mental health as a young man, so expressed in his letter in your Dec. 6 issue ("A way with words," *Letters*). The obsessive team I was subject to endured a total of three years, not fifteen. I "was seen" at the Clarke Institute for 45 minutes 23 years ago, and the treatment I entered into was not pharmacological and was confined to intermittent conversational analysis ending thirty years ago. I doubt if this qualifies me as having been "mentally ill," but Andy's eagerness to make and repeat the assertion justifies my wife's Barbara Ann's skeptical reference to his effort "to pin mental illness" on me. She, modestly and contrary to Andy's supposition, has no objection to being considered a long-released cocaine addict. We are both confident Andy's attentions are benign, but he is becoming a bawdy and slightly tedious busybody.

Conrad Black,
London

'Very honorable'

My nomination for your annual Honor Roll of 12 accomplished Canadians in my 12th year was Wesley Lloyd Mylrea. Two years ago he started his own newspaper called the *Peterborough Journal*. He does the work himself and paid it on credit or every Friday afternoon. He interviewed New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna and also had former employment and municipal councillor Bernard Valcourt in our house for an interview a year ago. Recently, he received a commemorative medal for his 125th anniversary of Confederation for his contributions to Canada.

Maureen McLean,
Peterborough, N.B.

I nominate Sue Rodriguez for the Honor Roll. As she became unable to care for herself, she had the medicals consent to cushion what Canadians should consider a dignified death.

Len Nod,
Calgary

For your Honor Roll, I want to nominate University of Toronto professor emeritus Richard Baine, who won the 1993 National Council for Geographic Education Distinguished Teaching Award. He demonstrated that a teacher can combine control of a classroom through mutual respect, in-depth knowledge and outstanding preparation. He is the teacher's teacher.

Ron Wilson,
Burlington, Ont.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone. Write Letters to the Editor, Reader Service, 222 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 2P8. Send SASE to: 1190-220-2330.

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-Robert Givens, DETROIT

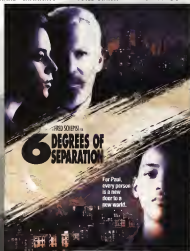
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DECEMBER 1993



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OPENING NOTES



Manning setting a public example

TIPS FOR THE PENNYWISE

For months, Preston Manning has been threatening to pay Scroggs on Parliament Hill, and last week he made good on his promise. The paramilitary Tories leader announced that his party would not accept a ding-bus of parliamentary perks, including free lawyers, managers and French lessons for spouses. As well, Manning asked Reform MPs to give up either 30 per cent of their salaries, or pay the tax on their \$22,500 tax-free allowance—if they feel they can afford to do so. He declined, however, to state his personal opinion. Meanwhile, as a staged press event, the penny-wise Manning set a very public example, returning the keyhole-bus government car and choosing a former secretary's office as his own. And he has vowed to confine his campaign to reform MPs' pensions, which could cost the party just six years of service. Manning told Mackinnon that he believes that Liberal MPs will have to under pressure to follow the Reform initiative. "We are doing this to try and get off on some credibility to talk to the public about the government's fiscal crisis," he said. "There are a number of anti-Liberals whose credibility is on the line." This is news for fiscal help.

For weeks, pop intern Michael Jackson has been out of sight—and making howl-jaw men. The parents of a 12-year-old boy launched a civil suit claiming Jackson had sexually abused their son. On Nov. 12, Jackson suddenly cancelled his world tour and is believed to be under a doctor's care in a clinic in London, battling an addiction to painkillers. Last week, the British sign was back in the air (LaToya told a press conference in Tel Aviv that her brother had sexually abused a number of children). Jackson, now 26 (LaToya alleges and refuted by her mother, Esther, and siblings.



LaToya Jackson, 'crazed'

WORD FOR WORD

FAMILY FEUD

LA TOYA JACKSON's cousin, and I will not, be a silent collaborator of his crimes against small, innocent children. And I'll remind them, that they mean that I had the girl and the husband that these children are leaving. I think it's very wrong. Stop and think for one second, and you will see what 25-year-old man is going to take a little boy and stay with him for 30 years, and take another boy and stay with him for 30 years. And I will say, that I love my brother, but it's wrong. My mother is very much aware of all the children that were there—all the boys that stayed there. She is the one who always said that Michael is a danger. "The world says," "That damn legend, I can't stand him!"

I have seen cheques payable to the parents of

these children. And I don't know if these children were apparently bought from the parents by Michael or not. But I have seen these cheques. I'm not speaking of amounts. The sum is a very, very large amount.

KATHERINE JACKSON (Michael's mother): It makes me feel really sad (about my daughter) that there is a need to send her brother down the river, because she's got some money-bringing lawsuit husband. She is just trying to make money off of his downfall.

And I'm going to tell you something. Sleeping in bed with someone fully clothed, I don't see anything wrong with that. Michael had a drunk party. So what.

JOSEPH JACKSON (Michael's father): All the

assumptions that I make about my brother are ridiculous. We would be the first ones to know if anything was going on. We're the parents of Michael Jackson.

JERMAINE JACKSON (It's all driven by money, because LaToya knows that the more sister and once she spends people are going to leave).

TITO JACKSON (She'll be paid just like the security guards were—\$100,000 for six or seven years. This is her way of making money. Michael would never hurt a kid).

The bucks stop here

It was a public relations fiasco of the first order. Last week, the senators and lawmakers of Canada's oil and gas industry were linked—before the Senate had a chance to break the facts to their own shareholders. Under new securities rules in Ontario, public companies are now required to disclose the full compensation packages of their top executives. The financial community had been anxiously waiting for the bomb to report—especially in a year when these executives had written off billions in lost income and cost thousands of jobs. The reported and still significant figures:



Senators at the top of the heap

	CEO's Income	Bank Profits	Bad Loans
Bank of Montreal			
Matthew Barnett	\$1,800,000	\$709,000,000	\$675,000,000
Toronto-Dominion			
Richard Thomson	1,525,000	275,000,000	600,000,000
Royal Bank			
Allan Taylor	1,033,000	300,000,000	1,750,000,000
Scotiabank			
Peter Gordon	880,000	465,000,000	714,000,000
CIBC			
Al Hood	700,000*	730,000,000	665,000,000
National Bank			
André Bernard	489,000	175,000,000	325,000,000

*not including unreported stock options

Source: *La Presse* magazine and the banks' financial reports

Barbie's boyfriend moves on

Since their debut in 1959, Barbie dolls have gone on to be the ideal of a teenage beauty. And in 1981, when Mattel Inc. of El Segundo, Calif., launched Barbie's companion doll, Ken, he was the perfect boyfriend. To go with that beautiful couple captured the hearts of thousands of little girls. But the newest incarnation of Barbie's companion has attracted a different audience: Harry Magic Ken, with his streaked blond hair, lavender shirt and vest and silver ring around his neck, is a hit with gay men. "We sold out in less than a month and we had to reorder them," said Sheila Balkinowicz, a sales-



woman at the Barbie on Bay Boulevard in Toronto. "And it's primarily gay men who are buying them." In fact, Balkinowicz and "just ask specifically for 'The Gay Ken Doll.'" But according to Len McKeel, Mattel's manager of marketing, the company never anticipated the new audience. Explained McKeel: "We were busy in getting and two-tone hair to make him look cool and hip, and I never thought because it's a girl's second favorite color after pink." Best of loves Barbie with the cold.

PASSAGES

AWAYD: A gold medal to former synchronized swimmer Byrle Brice, 38, of Montreal, who was denied the Rio Olympic prize at the 1982 Barcelona games because of a judging error, by the International Olympic Committee. The IOC approved that Brice be was unfairly denied the gold medal after a six-month delay. Brice acknowledged that she had inadvertently pushed a wrong scoring button during the solo competition. The gold medal is now presented to Brice, who is a National Bank of Canada working representative, at a gala ceremony in the Montreal Forum on Dec. 15. American Kristin Bobb-Sprague, who was the original competitor, will retain her gold medal.

DETH: Academy Award-winning actor Don Ameche, 85, who played a wide variety of movie roles over seven decades, of prostate cancer, in Scottsdale, Ariz. Ameche achieved stardom interpreting the title role in the 1933 film *The Sign of the Cross*. Over 60 years later, at age 77, he was his only Oscar, for a supporting role in the 1960 musical *Come Fly With Me*. Ameche completed his final movie, *Corrina, Corrina*, also starring Whoopi Goldberg.

DEED: Recently anti-folk rock and roller Frankie Zappa, 52, of prostate cancer, at his Los Angeles home. His band Mothers of Invention was a fixture of the 1960s counterculture, but Zappa also continued to perform and produce albums, nearly 50, until earlier this year.

AWAYD: To actress Ellen Barkin, 33, 54 million after Los Angeles jury convicted her. Barkin, 35, and her eighth husband, Frederick von Anhalt, 50, of 1981. The couple told a German magazine that Barkin was "brutal, selfish and frequently abusive."

DEED: Helen Hastenbury, 85, mother of Gov. Royce Hastenbury, in a St. Louis hospital. An original member of the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, she was also active in promoting multiculturalism.

DISCHARGED: The French *Clouder*, whose relieved movie now stands with a market. Mahabir, warrior during the 1949 Druze crisis became one of the last stages of the 75-day confrontation, then the armed forces, after being convicted of driving the scene of a second white driving under the influence of alcohol, at Quebec City.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Shadow Man*, Carl Hiake (3)
2. *Paulie Glavin Ha Ha No*, Judy Delo (3)
3. *The Puddin' Book*, Margaret Arnold (2)
4. *Across the Bridge*, Mimi Gellman (3)
5. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Butler (3)
6. *Three Wives in Cedar Bend*, Janet Hale (3)
7. *The Golden Moon*, Paul Auster (2)
8. *Swisher*, Joel Proulx (3)
9. *Scar Tissue*, Michael Spier (2)
10. *Leather*, Anne Rice

11. *Books list will*
Compiled by Susan Feltman

NONFICTION

1. *Monkeys*, Peter Elliot Hughes (3)
2. *Stronger Men*, Leonard Cohen (2)
3. *Fire with Fire*, Mike Wolfe (2)
4. *The Burning Ship*, Margaret Hunter (3)
5. *The Hidden Life of Bees*, Robert Thomson (3)
6. *Blood and Brimstone*, Michael Spier (2)
7. *A Life in Progress*, Gerald Black (3)
8. *Schindler's List*, Tom Proulx (3)
9. *Schindler's List*, Anne Spier (2)
10. *Pinkie Pie*, Lenora Feltman (3)

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COLUMN



The new love affair with transnationals

BY DIANE FRANCIS

It is no longer enough for an enterprise to be better and more efficient than the enterprise across the street. Industries—and countries themselves—have to be as good as the most efficient competitor on the other side of the globe. This new reality has brought about one of the greatest transformations of this century. Nations that rejected foreign investors now seek strategic alliances with them to help transform their economies and compete against other nations for their place in the sun.

For the first time ever, all the world seems to love foreign investors and transnationals. This planetary flip-flop began in the 1980s, then accelerated in the fall of 1989 with the collapse of Communism. Even before that, countries like Canada began once again to accept foreign-owned transnationals after rejecting the global nationalization of the 1960s and 1970s. Now that the Cold War has ended, other nations such as India, Russia, Mexico and even Cuba have opened wide their markets and economies to foreigners.

Countries now race one another to scrap foreign ownership restrictions and shamelessly court foreign investors, no matter what their political stripe. In a form of global groupthink, once-protectionist and isolationist governments have also begun to shake the wholehousehold or sale of their precious public enterprises from Crown corporations to actual government agencies or departments (Holland just listed its postal system on the stock market as a private enterprise. France and Britain are considering similar plans).

The United Nations estimates that between 1985 and 1989 privatisations in 79 countries totalled \$680 billion. Countries recovered the size of \$282 billion in assets. More recently, countries such as Italy and France have embarked on massive asset sales in the tens of billions of dollars at the same time as huge portions of Latin America or Eastern Europe are placed on the block. Canada must do the same.

Countries now race one another to shamelessly court foreign investors, no matter what their political stripe

Government enterprises have been mostly disastrous. Many, like British's Leyland car manufacturing, were unable to withstand foreign competition arising from the lowering of tariff barriers through international agreements such as GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Others, like the Nova Scotia-owned Steelside Steel Corp., were unable for political reasons and were shamelessly coddled, awarded special privileges and controlled by incompetent politicians and civil servants. Because the only buyers of government assets were transnationals, they have become acceptable to the same politicians who created and replaced them with public enterprises—and by so doing empowered their careers. Unfortunately, Canada, with its growing economic nationalism who cost taxpayers billions in bad public enterprises, was no exception.

Another reason why attitudes towards foreign investment have changed is simply because globalization is here to stay. By 1990, there were 32,000 transnationals worldwide whose international sales and 179,000 subsidiaries allowed them to grow in markets around the world. Their successes lie in adapting their goods and services to local

needs while opposing their efforts to reduce use of global opportunities. About one-third of what the world called trade in 1990 was actually intercorporate transfers between their transnational subsidiaries operating in different countries. And UN figures showed that their combined sales in that year were roughly twice the world's trade of \$2.8 trillion. Transnationals make internal decisions that affect the trade figures, currencies and interest rates in smaller or underdeveloped countries. As a result, many such countries fear the transnationals and speculate that they could one day replace governments. Such as the 1970s, there were dire predictions that as a slough of 300 transnationals would one day control 80 per cent of the non-Communist world's capital. But by 1992, the top 100 corporations had acquired only an estimated 30 per cent of the world's total capital of \$28 trillion, and the top 300 represented 24 per cent, according to *The Economist*.

The dire predictions of transnational control were wrong because transnational power was overestimated. Some of these giants who and some lost, but none grew exponentially. Besides, transnationals are no longer direct economic competitors of ordinary powers. After the end of World War II, Britain, the United States, France and others rarely used gunboat diplomacy to openly protect corporate or trade interests. And since the end of the Cold War, free trade has made protection and aggression unnecessary in countries that play by the rules of the trade game.

There is also no longer a fear that U.S. involvement will swamp and dominate the economies of smaller nations. Such fears led Mexico to remain isolationist until a worst case in the 1980s, and explain why one such U.S. ally as Canada maintained its isolationist and created large state enterprises or subsidized their own domestic transnationals. While U.S. transnationals are enormous and powerful, they do not dominate the world economy and likely never will.

Now so, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, France, Italy, Japan and dozens of others ended up waving billions of dollars subsidizing state and other enterprises, and concern that foreign involvement in their economies would somehow result in a loss of sovereignty. But governments, including that of the protectionist United States, now routinely surrender previously sacrosanct controls in international organizations such as GATT or to regional trading bodies. Besides, sovereignty erodes as pressures push nations to match policies, taxes and regulations in competing countries.

That's not to say that governments must surrender their power to faceless forces. But one should not be so sure that governments are thinking they can swing against the current. With today's broad access to corporate and government information, companies can no longer hide economic inefficiencies. Globalization imposes competition. And all countries must bend this or become economic orphans.



THE END OF A BOUNTIFUL HARVEST

FOR ATLANTIC CANADA, THE COLLAPSE
OF THE FISHERY IS LIKE THE BREAKING
OF AN ANCIENT, SACRED TRUST

His face is the battered map of a life-line spent on the waters of the North Atlantic. For 40 years, 56-year-old Ivan Baker has steered fishing boats through swirling water masses and across thundering seas. The fourth-generation Nova Scotia fisherman knows what it feels like to land in nets that are empty while a wife and family wait at home. But as he moods at the end of a wooden dock in East Jeddore, N.S., last week, Baker expressed no regrets about the life he chose. "The tired old jobs but once fishing gets in your blood you always come back to it," he explained, taking a long look at the harbor spread before him. Only when he shifted his gaze to the string of colorful boats bobbing idly in the water did the stoic mask drop. His voice hardening, he spoke in bitter tones about Ottawa's decision to close the fishing grounds that have been his family's lifeline for nearly a century. "It's God damn shame," he said. "Who'd have ever thought I'd see this day?"

Who, indeed? After Atlantic Canada's 100,000 fishermen and fish-packer workers, the collapse of the fishery is like the breaking of an ancient, sacred trust. The bountiful harvest from eastern waters has been the mainstay of their ancestors—and the entire

Fish and fish buyers: "Once fishing gets in your blood, you always come back"

region—since the days of fishers' explorer John Cabot 400 years ago. In 1950, when fishers once landed 800,000 tonnes of groundfish, which makes up about two-thirds of the total Atlantic catch, the industry looked as healthy as ever. Yet that seemed like a distant memory just 18 months ago when federal officials were forced to shut the northern cod fishery for two years in an attempt to save the fabled Grand Banks fishing grounds from extinction. And without the northern cod, this year's Atlantic groundfish catch is expected to be a paltry 200,000 tonnes.

What happened? Overfishing by Canadian and foreign vessels, coupled with the sea population, environmental changes—storms and industry effluents say that all of these factors played a role in ravaging the cod stocks. Last month, the Fisheries Resource Conservation Council, which advises the federal department of fisheries and oceans, announced that the northern cod fishery is still groping to explain the calamity—just as it cannot pinpoint why the number of northern cod continues to decline despite the fishing ban. Whatever the reason, the result is that the scientists had to reregulate fish stocks for most of the past decade.

About the only thing the council will say definitively is that the outlook is bleak. Its best scenario sees the northern cod stock recovering enough by the end of the decade

for fishing to resume. "In the worst-case scenario," declared council head Herbert Clarke, "we just don't know."

Moreover, without further shut-downs the council maintains that other fish species are at risk of extinction. And it wants Ottawa to close all but one of the major cod and haddock fisheries in Atlantic Canada next year.

So here, now, what happens in the fishery will be of only passing interest to thousands of people who always made a living from the sea. Many, such as Allen Dehaene, 25, who owns the "Down and Carry II," a \$225,000 longliner tied up at East Jeddore, have already concluded that there is no future in fishing. "I'd get out at it right now if I could find somebody to buy my boat," he declares.

Scott Deane, 36, who owns a small, may have no chance in the industry's special compensation program expires in May. If the federal government follows the recommendations of Canada's task force, it will implement a system designed to create a smaller, more effi-



Gaskin: a sobering proposal that confirmed that a way of life is gone, probably forever

cient for fishing to resume. "In the worst-case scenario," declared council head Herbert Clarke, "we just don't know."

Moreover, without further shut-downs the council maintains that other fish species are at risk of extinction. And it wants Ottawa to close all but one of the major cod and haddock fisheries in Atlantic Canada next year.

HATFIELD ACCUSED

A western resident of a youth-training centre is now in New Brunswick charged that former premier Robert Hatfield once offered him money for sex. Joseph Landon, 28, made the unannounced accusation at an inquiry into sexual abuse against boys at the Kingscliffe Youth Training Centre near Fredericton. Landon said the incident happened in 1970 or 1971. Hatfield died of cancer in 1991. An old friend of the late premier, political columnist Debra Cunniff, described the testimony as "pure invention."

CLAYOQUET AGREEMENT

British Columbia's 1972 government has struck a deal that will allow natives to begin cutting aspen-growth trees in the Clayoquot Sound region of Vancouver Island. A local environmental group, Friends of Clayoquot Sound, has repeatedly criticized the protected government for refusing to ban all logging in the area. But the group welcomed the province's agreement, saying that logging practices would be less harmful to the environment than other kinds.

LEBLANC TO LEAD SENATE

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien named Senator Roméo LeBlanc as speaker of the upper house. LeBlanc, a former Liberal minister, succeeded Chabot in both the 1984 and 1990 leadership campaigns. LeBlanc, 66, will receive a pensioned salary and allowances of \$160,000 a year. Several Liberal MPs, including Jean-Louis Gauthier of Ottawa and Warren Allmand of Montreal, are competing to become Speaker of the Commons. That post will be filled when the Commons resumes sitting on Jan. 17.

STRAPPING KLEIN

A member of the Alberta legislature gave Premier Ralph Klein a cause had given it eliminated his \$5,000-a-year clothing allowance as part of a drive to cut the province's \$2.4-billion deficit. The minister also cut the salary of members of the legislature by five per cent.

RESOLVE HOPES FADE

Officials at the Maclean mine in Kirkland Lake, Ont., said it will take at least a month to reach two miners who were trapped underground by a rock burst on Nov. 26. Two thousand people in the town held a candlelight vigil for the victims, but the delay in reaching them virtually ended hope that they will be found alive.

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crisis industry that is now dependent upon the unemployed. Inevitably, the industry will make up a third of total income for fishermen and plant workers. At the center of proposals now being studied by Ottawa is the creation of a new 11 scheme tailored to the true problems in the industry. Such a scheme would cut off an estimated 50,000 workers (about half the total who, Cohen and, are "hanging in and sipping out" of the industry, waiting the minimum 30 weeks necessary to qualify for unemployment benefits. The task force recommended that the federal and provincial governments make plans for other compensation programs. It also recommended that independent organizations to be called fishery industry resource boards, be set up to decide which fish plants should be closed.

Given as the task force's conclusion might be, it is a clear sign for fishermen to fight about desperately holding on until, at 6, the fishery recovers. They are unlikely to be left without aid; the task force called for fishing license buy-outs, early retirement programs for those over 50 and retraining schemes. But it, the economic and government bodies throughout the downsize. Ministers, visited no fishermen about where any new jobs would be found.

In truth, jobs may be the main thing to refuse—particularly for those descended from fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers there who want to stay. Fishing provides every aspect of their lives. Without it, one needs Nathan Newman, a sociology professor at Memorial University in St. John's, they lose their sense of identity and pride as well as a connection to their community. "I would use the parallel cautiously," she explains, "but their situation is much like the aboriginal communities who lose their traditional rights to hunt and fish and are left wondering who they are."

Not surprising, then, that despite three main prospects many fishery workers cling to a quiet old way of life as best they can. On a quiet dock in East Jeddah, where a group of men gathered last week, the same dilemma that has sustained fishermen through centuries of drought hardship was apparent. Some, like Baker's 50-year-old son Ben, contend that they simply have no other option but to stick with fishing. "My boat cost \$120,000—what am I supposed to do?" he lamented. For others, though, the determination seems to spring from something deeper—a firm belief that the cod, and the prosperity that they once brought, will eventually return. "This has happened before," Baker's 29-year-old cousin, Bill Karas, explained lamely.

Yet behind that browed front, Karas, like many others, fears that this time may be different. Asked what he would tell a son or daughter who was considering entering the fishery, Karas paused for a moment, then with a note of regret he said, "I'd probably tell him to go to university."

JOHN DeMONT in East Jeddah

Death by a thousand cuts

Through brutal ridicule and innuendo, the Conservatives let Kim Campbell know that it is time to go

In keeping with tradition, the leading to the latest Conservative party snap was never destined to be quiet. Once the party's heretic and peace minister for 152 days, Kim Campbell became the subject of fiercer attacks among her supporters and the object of often brutal ridicule from her critics. To some, including one disgraced Tory senator, Campbell is an "opportunistic snarler" who led the party to oblivion and appeared determined to keep it there. Even to her most loyal backers, she is a performing cub, a politician who seems to play a leadership role but refuses to pick up a telephone and play the game. Last week, as a rumor again paroled her to-wash resignation, Campbell's unwillingness to enter to either faction led a new campaign from within the party to oust her sooner than she wanted. And one senior Tory sympathizer to her plight: "We always had a reputation for devaluing our weak ones. This one will be no exception." The claim of this strategic reformer failed to come this week—indeed Campbell's advisers expect last week's defection her resignation speech.

Campbell's political demise is in effect a case of death by innuendo. After the Oct. 26 election reduced the Tories to a mere one seat, she privately told British Columbia voters that she would likely say down after Christmas to adopt "a new comfortable role" in policy-making and fund-raising that would be the stature of a former leader and prime minister. That was certainly an up-tune—and Mr. 25 when Campbell signed the party's manifesto by implying during a fund-raising speech in Toronto that she might stick around until March. They were the going. Party hard-core donors showed no concern that Campbell insisted that the party forgive a \$120,000 loan to pay all debts remaining as well as pay her a salary. They or else in Vancouver's city hall that Campbell would resign within days. "This idea was that once you are preempted, you're out to go," said another Tory senior who, like most of his colleagues, repeated anonymously.

As in most political coups, the rumors were only partly true. According to one close adviser, the unpredictable Campbell was still deciding her future late last week but "in prepared to do whatever is helpful to the party."



Campbell ignoring even the most basic leadership duties

As for money, the financial arm of the Tory party, the PC Canada Fund, did advance Campbell and other leadership candidates undisclosed sums. But Robert Foster, chairman of the fund, said Malpas that, contrary to reports, those loans are to be repaid in full. As well, the party set aside money—one estimate in \$50,000—for Campbell's personal and other expenses. According to one close adviser, she neither asked for nor was allowed a salary. Said Foster: "We have a responsibility to cover her expenses."

Campbell faced many of her moves on herself. The Toronto speech, which included an announcement that the Tories would set up a national committee to study their future, was delivered by Campbell without consulting her colleagues. Most Tories assumed that she would quietly say made to make way for her leadership rival, Sherbourne 10 Jean Charvet. Shortly after, Campbell was

called as appearance at a special Senate in Ottawa—offering the on one, one hour before the meeting that she had a cold. As well, Campbell asked herself, taking only thirty to a handful of trusted aides. "Who is she consulting? What are we not talking? I know," said one member of the Kennedy closest friends of Campbell group in British Columbia.

Even the most basic leadership duties were missed: the expected defeated candidates and supporters. She declined to lead as it took on Liberal government policies or to defend the Tory record. Instead, she concentrated on her future career options—which include writing a book and teaching, possibly at Harvard. Two weeks after the election, she rejected an offer from the Liberals for a position with the Parks-Board Organization for Economic Development and Innovation. Her supporters say they were willing to give Campbell some breathing room, but many were later confounded by what she described as several signals and statements in letters. Added another perched supporter, New Brunswick Tory MP Mike Wayne: "She is still the leader and she certainly should be going some direction."

Part of the frustration with Campbell was that many senior Tories recognize a trait that they were powerless to change. In June, during the leadership contest, Campbell was 16 minutes late for an appointment with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who cancelled the meeting. A Quebec senator and strategist recalled Campbell's election signs in Montreal with wailing cries: "Campbell and her people would run into a hotel and lock the doors," he said. "There'd be orders for building all phone calls, meetings or interviews." That silence and unpredictability annoyed Tories to such an extent that some feared that if Campbell continued to cling to power, Charvet's appetite for the job would wane. "She is like a kid with a ball," said one senior Tory. "He knows he has to take it or so it may as well be him. But if she waits much longer, we might lose him, too." Last week, Campbell seemed finally to get the message.

By NAVE FULFORD and ANTONIA BILLORE
SOCIETY in Ottawa

Justice besmirched

The conduct of judges faces intense scrutiny

For a 35-year veteran of the bench, his statements were at best indiscreet. At a preliminary hearing in Quebec City last month, Quebec Court Judge René Crochese ruled that there was not enough evidence to proceed with charges against a local man that he made death threats against his wife. "I got killed," the woman told the judge as she left the courtroom. "It will be your fault." Ripped Crochese: "If the gentlemen associates the lady I will lose my sleep over it and I won't die. Don't worry I won't suffer from depression, either," because it is not my responsibility." The remarks might have remained part of an obscure judicial record but for the fact that the head of a local pro-credit union was sitting in the courtroom. And after Elizabeth LaBrecque obtained and played for the media a recording of the proceedings last week, Quebec Justice Minister Gill Bédard was under pressure to intervene. Bédard ordered the province's judicial council to investigate the 53-year-old Crochese's



McDonald: allegations of sexism

conduct. "It's hardly defensible," said Bédard. "If such comments could be made by a presiding judge."

Thinkable or not, Canadian judges are finding their statements and conduct—both made and avoided the courtroom—under a kind of scrutiny that did not exist even a few years ago. In the same week that Crochese found himself under investigation, the Manitoba Judicial Council was set to begin a public inquiry into a number of allegedly racist and sexist remarks by provincial court Judge Brian McDonald—echoing his comment that an Indian woman "killed each other off." That inquiry was aborted when the 75-year-old McDonald already accepted, saying he wished to spare his family the stress of a public investigation. In Toronto, meanwhile, Ontario provincial court Judge Walter Hyndak launched in April of the New 24 ruling by a judicial inquiry that recommended he be removed from the bench for "racist and demeaning" behavior towards women. The coin plaintiffs included a former court reporter who said that Hyndak, 58, had grabbed her buttocks at a 1981 Christmas party with such force that his finger penetrated her vagina.

In recent years, an increasing number of Canadian judges have faced the same sort of public scrutiny because of remarks they have made, usually while presiding over cases involving sexual or domestic assault. Among the most infamous observations a Quebec Court judge who told a lawyer that "ladies are like women, they are made to

be violated" and a B.C. Superior Court judge who declared that "a man never marries or wed a wife." Judges who express those kinds of views are a small minority. Still, critics say they are symptomatic of a judiciary that is mostly male, mostly middle-aged or older—and that often downplays crimes that most directly affect women. "When you look at cases involving family law, rape or incest, what you see is a pattern of decision-making that has disadvantaged women," says University of Calgary law professor Kathleen Mahoney. "Judges are at the top of the system. The example they set sends a strong message to other players down the line."

While 27 per cent of practicing lawyers in Canada are women, only about 13 per cent of federal and provincial judges are female. To help offset that imbalance, the National Judicial Institute, set up in 1985 to provide continuing education to judges, now offers courses on "gender equality." After watching a video that depicts actual courtroom scenarios, judges are encouraged to discuss what they have seen. Among the things they are told that females on the bench should be referred to as "judges" and that women should be called by their surnames rather than "dear." On a more substantive level, they are also told that, because of their own social conditioning, they may not be aware of it, as they hold against some female victims.

The concern here has been taken by about 60 per cent of Canada's 1,800 federal and provincial judges. But because they are voluntary, critics contend that they fail to reach the people who really need them. For that reason, a recent Canadian Bar Association task force on gender equality headed by former Supreme Court Justice Bertha Wilson recommended that such courses become compulsory for all sitting and newly appointed judges. The task force fully discussed arguments from some judges that making the courses mandatory threatens a threat to their judicial independence. "Surely the courts have a social obligation to reject, not to reflect, society's irrational prejudices. Any judge who thinks himself or herself immune to these prejudices has every serious problem."

But even some lawyers sympathetic to the idea of gender equality question the wisdom of trying to force a judge to change deeply ingrained attitudes. "Retaining people at this stage in their careers can be difficult," says University of Manitoba law professor Anne McGlone. "You can imagine taking a 65-year-old man to absorb and/or learn concepts." Others claim that the entire purpose is misguided. "The burden is on the current holders of political correctness. Judges might see current proper judicial discretion," says Michael Fitz James, a Toronto-based lawyer and former editor of *The Lawyer's Weekly*. "Judges are now afraid that feminists or gay groups will badge them out of office." Judging by recent evidence, however, many benches are still spending their minutes—even though they might later wish they had kept silent.

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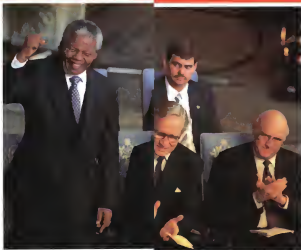
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GRAN HOSHAN with DEAN ARREST in Toronto

'LET A NEW AGE DAWN'

It was a deeply symbolic moment for both black and white South Africans. In the shadow of Cape Town's majestic Table Mountain, and under light of the sun where the first Dutch settlers put anchors 341 years ago, a multi-racial group of officials gathered in the former Good Hope Theatre last week to begin the difficult task of steering the divided society to its first official elections. Faced on the faces of the delegates from the 16 political parties present at the inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), a sort of shadow government overseeing key areas of the administration leading up to next April's parliamentary elections, were the mixed emotions of that moment: jubilation and triumph, stress and exhaustion. It had taken two years of often bitter negotiation, tough negotiations and dangerous brinkmanship to get to that point, that last time around, the difficulties had clearly been worth it. Three categories of white-minority rule were effectively ended. And, in the country's only female member, Queen Viscountess of the Islands Viscountess, put it, the installation of the TEC meant that the "long dark night" for the disenfranchised black majority was finally over. "With the end of this dark night, the sleeping will end," she predicted. "Joy will come."

The post-racialism and emotion-charged language of the delegates, each of whom was given the opportunity to address their fellow countrymen, reflected the power of a moment only dreamed of by generations of black South Africans. And at its other symbolic event held a world away, 1985 Nobel Peace Prize recipient Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk stood smiling side by side in the senate Dole City Hall, where the African National Congress (ANC) leader ended his acceptance speech with the triumphant words, "Let a new age dawn!" But as promising as the TEC's first session was—the United Nations promptly lifted a 15-year-old oil embargo against Pretoria—it was clouded with conflict and beyond the baronial dignity of the ancestral chamber. Heavily led, the delegates got down to business when there was a heated dispute between senior government spokesmen and their counterparts in the ANC over whether the council amounted to a merely advisory body or a super-government controlling such critical elements as



the police, army, justice and external ministries. Meanwhile, the conspiratorial absence from the proceedings of five conservative groups, both black and white, posed a major threat to the country's transition to full democracy.

In Cape Town last week, chief government negotiator and TEC member Rudi Meyer was adamant that the task of the council was only to "level the political playing field" and that it was not an alternative government. Speaking shortly before flying to Oslo, de Klerk threw his weight behind Meyer. The government, he said, would not step government. Declaring de Klerk "I regard the TEC as an important body with an important role, but it's not a clearly mandated role."

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, also a TEC member, reacted sharply, accusing de Klerk of indulging in "selfish denial." He asserted that not only would the council have executive powers but it could also remove presidents and dissolve the Klerk "must go back to his history if he thinks the ANC will allow itself to be sucked into a top telephone type body," said Ramaphosa, referring to a string of direct and discredited bodies set up for blacks and other disenfranchised groups by previous white administrations. Adding further fuel to the fire was the refusal of the Freedom Af-

there seemed little chance of reconciliation with the alienated and militant Afrikaners, descendants of South Africa's 17th-century European settlers, whose leaders had repeatedly warned that the establishment of the TEC meant inevitable civil war. Last week, in an ominous forecast of how far angry and fearful Afrikaners might go, a group of about 30 armed right-wing militants declared their opposition to the democratic transition process—and as the TEC in particular—with the previous occupation of a railway museum as the site of an old base for our President. Tens of thousands behind razor wire and sandbag barricades, the rebels vowed to hold out against all comers for at least four days to defend Fort Schoenberg, a symbol of their resistance a century ago to demands for obediency from their British colonial rulers.

In response, heavily armed troops and police, most of them black, moved off the fort in a day-long siege. The standoff ended peacefully by 24 hours after it began with the surrender of 17 of the rebels, who each paid fines of \$40 (for trespassing and for trespassing).

In its way, the outcome of the "battle of Fort Schoenberg," as some local media commentators wryly labelled the protest, was at once symbolic of the greater struggle taking place in South Africa: blacks are uprooted, just as opponents once took to the bar field to shake spears and make loud noises to frighten their enemies, but the bar has been converted into a peaceful gathering and peaceful settlement. That remains a major conviction, at least among South Africa's militant Afrikaners, that the real bloodletting was yet to come.

And while like the one of the two black businessmen in the alliance appeared to be leading over that institution, there seemed little chance of reconciliation with the alienated and militant Afrikaners, descendants of South Africa's 17th-century European settlers, whose leaders had repeatedly warned that the establishment of the TEC meant inevitable civil war. Last week, in an ominous forecast of how far angry and fearful Afrikaners might go, a group of about 30 armed right-wing militants declared their opposition to the democratic transition process—and as the TEC in particular—with the previous occupation of a railway museum as the site of an old base for our President. Tens of thousands behind razor wire and sandbag barricades, the rebels vowed to hold out against all comers for at least four days to defend Fort Schoenberg, a symbol of their resistance a century ago to demands for obediency from their British colonial rulers.

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World Notes

MASSACRE IN NEW YORK

President Bill Clinton ordered the justice department to carry out a study of gun and crime issues after a shooting spree on a New York commuter train left five people dead and 18 others wounded. New York police arrested 26-year-old Colin Ferguson, an avid shooter, in connection with the attack. He had in his possession a Rem-ump semi-automatic handgun that was legally purchased in California. The motive for the killings appeared to be racial hatred, according to investigators since found on the suspect.

EXPLOSIVE REVELATIONS

The U.S. energy department disclosed that the government had carried out 264 secret nuclear explosions at its Nevada test site since 1951. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary said that the tests were conducted to keep the former Soviet Union in the dark about "our nuclear devices and capabilities." The energy department said in a statement that the total number of U.S. tests conducted worldwide is 1,650.

AFRICAN LEADER DIES

Parliamentary speaker Henri Konan Bédié, 56, pronounced himself the new president of the Ivory Coast one day after the death of Felix Houphouët-Boigny, 88, who led his West African country to independence from France in 1960 and had ruled like a monarch ever since.

A STIFF SENTENCE

Los Angeles Superior Court Judge John Ockerski gave 30-year-old Quentin Tarantino the maximum sentence of 30 years in prison for his vicious attack on white truck driver Michael Dickey and others during a racial riot in April, 1992. The California actor had cut out and jerry rigged four white police officers in the beating of black mutant Rodney King, Williams co-defendant, Henry Winkler, 39, was sentenced to three years probation and 300 hours of community service.

A MOVE TO THE LEFT

In majority elections throughout Italy, leftist candidates crushed opponents in the north and neo-fascists in the rest of the country. The resounding Christian Democrats, who have dominated Italian politics for nearly half a century, and other traditionally central parties were eliminated in the first round. With national elections scheduled for next March, the old parties were worried.

CIRKS FRANKLIN in Cape Town

WHITES BEGIN SHARING POWER WITH BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the face of intensifying violence, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization are getting ready to implement a historic accord. Can the dreams of peace become a reality? On both sides of the conflict, courageous men and women are working to keep the hope alive.

Can They Ever Be Friends?



Palestinians clinking with Israeli settlers: a historic struggle between two peoples is worked with thousands of personal grudges



BY BRUCE WALLACE

The horrors of history still crowd their way onto the scenes that is present-day Israel. Randomly, anonymously, terror still strikes Jewish victims, adding to the toll of Jews killed through the years mainly because they were Jews. In April, 1979, the darkness fell on Seder Harna.

What happened to Harna, a young wife and mother of two daughters, is steeped in the worst nightmares of the Holocaust. Under the cover of night, her teenage son was lured by specialists on the beaches of Naharyn, an Israeli resort 12 km south of Tel-Aviv. In this "Zionist" town, as the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) called it, the mission was to "inspire Jewish rejection of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty." The method was to kill any Jew they could find.

The gunmen burst into Harna's seashore apartment building, exploding grenades and blasting open doors with automatic weapon fire. As other residents and an Israeli policeman returned shots, the terrorists dragged Harna's husband, Daniel, and four-year-old daughter, Elana, to the beach to hasten for their escape. When they discovered that Israeli security forces had destroyed their boat, the gunmen killed Daniel and Elana. Harna had escaped detection by passing her two-year-old daughter, Yael, into a closet, where they remained throughout the ordeal. Terrified that the infant's cries would betray their hiding place, Harna took a desperate risk: she smothered her child's face with a pillow to keep her quiet. Atelecty weakened by asthma, Yael fell unconscious and died.

But Seder Harna is a remarkable survivor. She still lives in Naharyn. She is a student now, has remained and has children again: daughters aged 12 and six. Staying in Naharyn, she said, "was a way of saying to terrorists, 'You can't win,' rather than, 'We can kill more of you than you can kill of us.' I will not be pushed out of here. Frightened, yes. But not pushed." No one doubts Seder Harna. Despite her own trauma and the loss of her husband and daughter, she is a leader of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accord. The deal, signed in Washington on Sept. 13, has been under attack ever since from violent extremists and nervous moderates on both sides.

Without preaching, without political ambitions or the need for the sake of public vigils with other victims of violence, Harna—like many courageous men and women on both sides of the 45-year-old struggle—plans the future by breaking the long-held, deadly and vengeful hold over the Middle East. "I don't forget what happened to my family," she told *Maclean's*. "I had beautiful daughters, a good marriage. But

there is a moment when you decide if you are going to be guided by anger and bitterness, or rise above it and make a place for hope. I never felt better to hear of peace. Palestinian men fire's girls—that's what starts the cycle of violence. You just hope that choosing peace rather than revenge—something that is so hard for me to do—will one day come naturally to my daughters. I believe the desire to live in peace is a natural emotion, our natural condition."

The spirit of Seder Harna burns with every Israeli and Palestinian in these troubled days. The Israeli-PLO negotiations appear, finally, to have brought peace within reach. Under the accord, Israeli forces were scheduled to begin withdrawing their work from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho. But as the deadline approached, the violence intensified, offering a reminder that

vengeance and hatred are at least as seductive as the prospect of peace.

The continuing procession of shootings and bombings is perhaps inevitable in a land where a historic struggle between two peoples is overlaid with tens of thousands of personal grudges. Many Palestinians and Israelis have suffered the loss of friends and family, pain and atro-

cents alone. For every Semadar Hanna will lag to negotiate with the enemy, there is another who will not sleep peacefully until his or her own blood is smeared.

On a November night four years ago, two of Abu Khalid Al-Hamouri's sons left to launch army bullets. Army spokesmen said that Nidal, 18, and Samir, 20, disobeyed commands to stay flowing streams of oil fumes near their home in East Jerusalem. Palestinian witnesses responded that the soldiers had actually ambushed the brothers, who—like many Palestinian youths—had suffered repeated harassment by Israeli soldiers. "Peace is not possible because the Jews will always break their word," said Al-Hamouri. From his comfortable living room in East Jerusalem he can see the towers of the occupied army barracks down the road and the Jewish settlement built in a traditionally Palestinian neighborhood. "I do not believe in Arabs, only in God," he said. "My sons are remembered, and we will fight on."

Not everyone wants to fight on. There have always been Jews willing to share their homeland with the Palestinians. And there are Palestinians, some of whom helped to disarm the individuals who have put aside their ambition to cast the Israelis into the sea. They are hoping to secure through negotiation what they could not attain by force: a vision of their own peaceful home. On both sides, these negotiators for peace risk being called traitors by their own people. With each new atrocity, each actuation committed by the hardliners, their credibility is called into question. But their perseverance attests how far those who want to believe, as Semadar Hanna, that the search for peace truly does make the human spirit.

Necem El-Hilo has paid an enormous personal price on her path to peace. She began her struggle against the Israelis as a 14-year-old, smuggling weapons and throwing hand grenades at Israeli soldiers. The grenades took a physical toll: a grenade blew off her right hand and blinded her left eye when she was 20. She has been jailed five times for a total of 14 years, mostly for her part in organizing the infiltration in Gaza's Jabalya refugee camp, where she lives. And now, at 41, she is finding what she sees as the greatest stage risk, trying to dialogue with the Israelis as the best way for Palestinians to achieve their goals.

"As politicians, we're trying to give the Israeli and Palestinian people a chance to forget the past and become friends," said El-Hilo, sitting in the bare offices of the recently founded Palestinian Democratic Front, which supports the peace process. Although the party is small, El-Hilo's reputation as an activist on behalf of Palestinians—and Palestinian women in particular—gives it clout out of proportion to its size. "Problems were really worst in Gaza when I was there, every religious group was returning in on top and the armed struggle made the only option," she said. "But we lost a lot of years waiting for the Arab world to come to our aid."

one. We should have thought as Palestinians first, and as Arab and Muslims later."

By her own account, El-Hilo began to consider a two-state option in the late 1970s. But it was not until the 1980s, when it became clear that Palestinians would have to make the struggle for independence on their own, that her conviction crystallized. "Necem knows that the best way, the only way at this time, is through dialogue," said Josko Kilar, 41, a close friend of El-Hilo. "The world has changed and everyone is talking about peace. It is not difficult to convince our struggle through stones and war. But we prefer to live in two states and have good relations with Israel."

Waleed Zaqout, a thin, intense 33-year-old and El-Hilo's colleague on the Democratic Front, agrees. He is a delegate to the peace process, and has traveled to Oslo and Ottawa for negotiations on the future of Palestinian refugees. But participating in a peace process while arms and bloodshed continue in the territories tests his commitment.

Zaqout has a brother killed in Lebanon, another deported from Israel. His mother once jailed and has two sisters under house arrest—evidence of the cost of being an activist in the Gaza Strip. "And still the answer is not marriage," he said. "I'm not afraid of coverage; we will never achieve anything that comes from us or who are supporters risk nothing of their own alongside Israel. On both sides, these negotiators for peace risk being called traitors by their own people. With each new atrocity, each actuation committed by the hardliners, their credibility is called into question. But their perseverance attests how far those who want to believe, as Semadar Hanna, that the search for peace truly does make the human spirit."

Peace people have waited for peace longer than Khaled Khatib. "New 68," he was perched at the birth of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948, as one of three members of the con-



Israeli soldiers confronting Palestinians in the West Bank. The violent path still beckons.

try's first foreign office. "I received the telegram from [U.S. president] Harry Truman that recognized the existence of Israel," recalled Khatib, dressed in a suit and sitting in the living room of his Jerusalem home. Born in Berlin in 1913, he was 20 when he walked across a bridge and out of Nazi Germany into France. A year later he emigrated to Palestine, determined to be a farmer. Instead, he found himself helping other Jews flee Europe's horrors, and later joined an underground task force (known as the Nasha) across the Middle East.

He has been involved in every war since. As a diplomat, he was part of the United Nations negotiations that founded Israel. He was his country's ambassador to the United Nations during the 1967 Six Day War, when Israel captured the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. And when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack in October, 1973, he "pulled strings" to join the army as a 60-year-old private, shooting ammunition in the Golan Heights. Before that, he had been a lively activist to the Israeli establishment, struggling against the pull of a pending return home. "The most painful thing is if you have foregone it, you've committed that certain times are going to happen, and you talk and talk and talk but you can't break the will of those who have the power to make decisions," he said.

Rafael Khatib has both sides for the intangibility of the conflict. In his view, Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza polarized relations to the point where negotiations failed all but unthinkable.

COUNTDOWN TO THE PULLOUT

As Israel and the PLO prepared to implement last September's Oslo accord, renewed violence cast doubt on its viability. The latest developments:

- Jewish settlers killed three Arabs near the West Bank town of Hebron, raising the death toll since signing the accord to 49 Palestinians and 14 Jews. The attack followed the killing three days earlier of a Jewish settler and his son.
- In Gaza, Palestinians shot and wounded an Israeli policeman.
- Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin hinted that postponement of the scheduled start-up for withdrawal may be unavoidable to iron out security disagreements.



- U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced that Syria would resume peace negotiations with Israel early next year.
- Palestinian leader Haniyeh Ashraf gave up her job as PLO spokeswoman, but denied this move was a protest against Arafat's leadership.

"Disagreement is the most undignified situation for any person and any people," he said. "It creates a situation of distrust, and peace-making requires the creation of trust."

But in the next breath, Khatib links Palestinians and the Arab states for rejecting successive peace overtures. "This process is hard for many Israelis to stomach," he said

of his own nationality. "That's the violent side to us; we see the conclusions of peace-making, not the conclusions of war."

El-Hilo, Rabinowitz was arrested a year last March. Israeli troops took him from his home in the West Bank town of Beit Sahour at 3 a.m., for what military sources said were "security reasons." Rabinowitz is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a group that believes that Arab states have no role in the peace process.

But unlike many PFLP members, Rabinowitz says that he does not advocate violence. He was a leader of the Intifada in Beit Sahour, but instead of hurling stones he launched legal challenges to the Israeli courts. Beit Sahour gained international attention in 1989 when its residents staged a sit-in event against the military authorities. Arguing that they were being asked to relinquish their own opposition, the residents collectively stopped paying. In retaliation, the Israeli government ordered that forced residents to stay indoors for 18 days, and twice staged tax raids to conduct property. "The Israelis believed that they could destroy the economy of the occupied territories and drive us away through taxation," Rabinowitz, a well-known pharmacist who is one of the largest medical suppliers in the West Bank, said in an interview before his latest arrest. "They wanted to drive out capital, drive the wealth out of occupied people."

Rabinowitz's family roots stretch back 300 years in Beit Sahour, a largely Christian community of 12,000 people near Bethlehem. Known locally as the Jews of the West Bank because of its relative affluence, the village in Beit Sahour has been almost exclusively Jewish. With its own community played host to rock throwing, snail races and showings, Beit Sahour residents established close-knit groups with Jewish peace activists, meeting in homes on both sides of the so-called green line, which divides the occupied territories from pre-1967 Israel.

The Israeli's responded swiftly to Rabinowitz's tax revolt, giving him for 30 days. "My village started at that moment," he said. After that, Israeli soldiers ignored a residency order and destroyed his inventory of medicines. Together with other residents, Rabinowitz's village has challenges to the Israeli Supreme Court. So far, they have achieved modest success, forcing the Israelis to make public their records of spending on West Bank services.

"For too long we made things easy for the occupier," said Rabinowitz. "Grind to us the Israeli court war and acknowledge the legitimacy of the occupation—it was a way to create a dialogue between equals." Rabinowitz remains critical of the deal cut by Arafat, accusing him of running a corrupt administration and insisting that any resistance to the occupation is legitimate. But he has chosen the path of dialogue and legal work. "We have come to a point where, as a nation, we are ready to die for that," he said. "By making it



On "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there is no telling who are the good guys and who are the bad guys"

clear to the world that Palestinians were rejecting the occupation, we started to get back our dignity and pride."

Most Palestinians believe that it was the Israelis that finally drove the Israelis to use force. In fact, a host of powerful forces pushed both sides into confrontation. The collapse of the Soviet Union transformed the Middle East from a global flash point into a regional conflict, and rebuffed the PLO of an eminence ally in Moscow. Arab states, weakened financially and politically after supporting Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War, had to temper its ambitions that the Arab world be created, as an economic price from the Israelis producing not only enough oil to keep the damper on enthusiasm for military action but also an unquenchable thirst for oil over the country of occupation.

"The public is finally realizing that occupying the territories did not bring security," said Galia Golan, an adviser with Prince Nori, Israel's most prominent peace group. For Prince Nori, the solution to the conflict has always involved the confidence of an international force for a peace settlement—and an end to the policy of establishing Jewish settlements in the territories. "I have had many crises over the years when I thought that 140,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank were going to make compromise impossible," she said. But even Golan agrees that the role of peace groups has been modest. "It was the individual changed public opinion" she said. "It's the parents who are saying, 'I don't want my kids to get killed.'"

In a country where every teenager is conscripted into the army, the public pressure is provided to withdraw rather than abstract debate. "How can I take the risk that my daughter will go to the army where she might get killed?" asked David Zohar, the first Jew to settle in Jericho, scheduled to be turned over to PLO rule under the accord. "I have to remember every minute that she said, 'No, I don't want war.' I want peace."

If Zohar is convinced of the need for compromise, he is less certain about any future Palestinian state. Will he be a happy alien to live, at least on the terms of the 1993 Oslo accord, within sight of the Dead Sea? Zohar worries that Palestinian rule may cause thousands who, as a result of PLO control, seek to profit from foreign aid and the fruits of cheap Palestinian labor. "They talk about police, justice, justice," said Zohar of the PLO leader. "I don't hear them talking about economic or stability."

But on the other side of the country, in a seaside suburb of the hard streets of the Gaza Strip, Palestinian political economist Fawzi Abu Sileh is in a different mood. Just as he predicts that the PLO will see economic growth when Palestinians are finally allowed to sell their fruits and vegetables in Israeli markets, which is now easily controlled by the Israelis. Abu has his bigger dream: to build a harbor, to bring

trade links with Arab countries, of the boat that will move when Palestinian expatriates return, armed with capital and business know-how.

Abu Sileh is himself a former expatriate. He lived in Germany for 30 years but returned to Gaza in 1980 to care for his parents. "Every day I ask myself why I came back," he said, sitting on the front lawn of his spacious house overlooking the Mediterranean. "I ask if any children will have happy fathers or if they will blame me for staying." Abu Sileh has five brothers, all of whom live outside Israel and the territories. He expects that, for most expatriate Palestinians, they will be very of returning.



Photo: David Zohar

to the economic signals of Gaza. "It is unreasonable to choose the way you out, but it's what you can do as a people," he said. "I don't want any brother or sister living there who has no opportunity here. But I will be sorry the moment that one of my brothers has a chance to work here and return to their home."

Abu Sileh knows how hard it is to convince other Palestinians to talk with Israelis rather than attack them. "People say, 'Go ahead and try. If you have no choice on the other side, we will support you.'"

Amas Otia has also been listening for echoes—but from the other side of the fence line. Israel's most prominent novelist, Otia has been a longtime advocate of a two-state solution. "The cause of the peace process must be a human one because for a long time we were advertising a solution which was Palestinian interests and international world consider," he said in the book-lined study of his house in Arad after the Dead Sea. "Up until 2000, that attitude was that Israel ought to go away like a nightmare or a mobile civilization."

Then in Jerusalem at 1989, Otia began to examine the journey of Palestinian citizens in the 1960s. "I saw this ethical exercise to get out of work as a story that I saw. I got up every morning and just putting myself under the skin of other people, including the skins of some terrible characters. In the last Palestinian conflict, there is no telling who are the good guys and who are the bad guys. It is a tragedy in this true sense—a clash between right and right."

On October 15, he was in an Israeli version of Soviet desert at Alexander's residence. "The government were tried to silence me or that my story or story was not to be told," he said, his eyes looking at the wall. "But there was a certain amount of social isolation. My kids suffered



Photo: David Zohar

at school. They were the kids of a history." Golan, however, the times of anxiety after Israeli began to grow in Israeli lands has been. For now, the turning point was the 1978 Egyptian accord, a last-day peace agreement that worked

for others, it was the Gulf War, when Saddam Hussein's Scud missiles demonstrated that the occupied territories—viewed by many Israelis as a necessary buffer against aggression—offered no defense against surface-to-surface missiles.

But Otia is also angry at the years and lives lost before. And he and his supporters finally began working to end the conflict by peaceful means. "They have wanted to march here," he said bitterly. "Everytime they are asking for now the bargain they are ready to settle for, it is only a fraction of what Israelis were willing to give Palestinians with peace, dignity and honor. 45 years ago, five wars ago, 200,000 dead ago." Those dead are the ones who are the most not to be. But the other path, violent and self-inflicted, still beckons to people on both sides of the struggle, always tempting.

With EIC: NUTRITION in Jerusalem



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The Ties That Bind

If the threat to Israel fades, will its friends still be as generous?

When Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told a gathering of Jewish leaders in Montreal last month that it was "time to reverse the corridor between Israel and world Jewry," most observers took it as a typical speech as Jewish leadership the last of things favored by Israeli officials when they hit the land-ravaging trail. But insiders in North American Jewish leadership circles understood something else, which Rabin's top advisers later confirmed: the Israeli-Jewish ties Rabin meant exactly what he said, "as a very serious," and Shimon Peres, director general of Rabin's office, "There is going to be a re-examination of Jewish-diaspora relations." The reason Rabin's Sept. 13 piece seemed with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). With Israeli-Arab peace a real possibility after a century of warlike, Rabin would the corridor of support in the Jewish community that the old, more, from religious on behalf of Israel to money funds for its survival, are becoming obsolete. As Rabin put it: "Now that the threat to our existence is being considerably reduced, a vacuum may be created in the place of that support."

Rabin's new concept, as outlined in his Nov. 18 speech to the Council of Jewish Federations, would replace "struggle for survival" with a new Jewish-diaspora partnership in economic, cultural and religious affairs. That approach could spark new enthusiasm for Jewish causes. The U.S.-United Jewish Appeal, long basic critical of Israel in its fundraising campaign since September, criticized its long-term policy than at any time in the past 30 years, according to insiders who attended Rabin's speech.

But many Jewish leaders express concern that an end to the Middle East conflict, however welcome, could deprive them of their most compelling sales point. Fundraisers fear that they do not know if donors will give as deeply for Jewish causes when Israel no longer appears to be fighting for its life. And Jewish leaders say they need new fund supporters will rely on Israeli-Jewish ties no longer surrounded by enemies. "We haven't thought through what our message might be to an era of peace," said Steve An, executive vice-president of the United Jewish Appeal. Canada's central Jewish fund received today "all the peace process goes ahead, and we pretend that things are the same as they were, we're going to be left behind."

The dilemma is faced currently plays a huge role in Jewish life. Jewish charities, grouped under the United Jewish Appeal in New York City and the United Jewish Appeal of Canada in Toronto, raise more than \$1 billion a year, largely on the strength of Israel's beleaguered status. Half goes to Israel, while the rest stays in North America for Jewish use, such as old-age homes and religious schools. Hundreds of mil-



Rabin and Clinton in Ottawa last month: the peace accord has helped Israel's image

lions more are raised for groups affiliated with Israeli universities, hospitals and museums.

In one case, the Israeli-PLO agreement has made their job easier by improving Israel's image. "It's had an impact," said Chaima Hock, a senior adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. "There's a greater comfort with ideas of working towards peace."

The vast majority of North American's estimated 6 million Jews—5.7 million in the United States, 150,000 in Canada—appear bullish on the peace process. Surveys of U.S. Jews conducted after the September accord showed that 85 to 90 per cent approved in principle. Smaller percentages approved of the pact's specific provisions, such as autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Most observers blame the mood in Canada is similar. "By and large, the community supports the peace initiative," said Jack Silverman, executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

At the same time, however, Silverman cautioned that "there is a considerable amount of concern among certain elements of the community that are worried about the security of Israel." That concern borders at times on outright opposition to the accord—something of

a novelty in Israeli-diaspora relations. Traditional ally, said Silverman, the Canadian Jewish community "supports the duly elected government of Israel." He added "We don't purport to intrude ourselves in the democratic process of the state of Israel." Lately, however, Jewish diplomats have become concerned about the revival of Jewish opposition to Israel's policies. The atmosphere mood is particularly unsettling, they say, because it appears stronger among those Jews who at the past were Israeli most ardent backers, including active synagogue members, Orthodox Jews and Holocaust survivors.

Observers say that opposition to the accord has grown steadily in the months since it was signed—largely in response to the mounting Israeli death toll from terrorism. "Any kind of cynicism that somebody might have felt several weeks ago has by now just been ebbed away," said Frank Danz, executive vice-president of B'nai B'rith Canada.

In fact, some major Jewish organizations are now working at cross purposes to Israeli policy, even as they profess their support for it. In Toronto last week, B'nai B'rith Canada announced a campaign of support for Jewish settlers in the West Bank, whose militant opposition to the peace accord Israel's leadership warned. Michael Ben Yair, recently termed "wildman" said Danz: "We support the government in our general policy. But we're very much concerned about the settlers." And in New York City, the powerful Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations has led itself to host speeches by as few as the top senior members of the right-wing opposition Likud party in the past month. One, former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, used the occasion to call for Rabin's resignation. Although some Israeli diplomats were left hanging about that incident, they acknowledge that opposition to the accord among some North American Jews strengthens their hand in negotiations with the PLO.

The stakes are highest in the United States, where Middle East diplomacy is centered and where the Jewish lobby is strongest. "Jews in the United States are much more influential in American politics than Jews in Canada are in Canadian politics," said political scientist Harold Wolf of McGill University in Montreal. One result: Canadian Jewish organizations have begun a dialogue with Canadian Arab groups to end the isolated hostility and work on discouraging Middle East economic development. In the United States, by contrast, Israeli diplomats have discouraged such contacts, urging American Jews "not to get ahead of Israel on this," in the words of one U.S. Jewish leader.

With the promise of peace in the Middle East, Canadian and American Jews will work on a new challenge. "The North American Jewish community is going to have to rethink itself," said Montreal philanthropist Charles Bronfman, co-chairman of the Benjamin Center Ltd. "There's going to be a new relationship with Israel. It won't be based on philanthropy. It's going to have to be based on confidence."

J. J. GOLDENBERG in Montreal



Jerusalem: the so-called 'city of peace' has grown accustomed to war

AN UNHOLY STRUGGLE

Legend has it that its name is ancient Hebrew meant "city of peace," but over the centuries Jerusalem has seldom lived up to that ideal. Since King David secured it from the Jebusites 3,000 years ago, the city has been conquered and reconquered at least 20 times. For Jews, Muslims and Christians alike, it remains a centre of pilgrimage and an inspiration to worshippers around the world. And yet Jerusalem, one of the world's oldest and holiest cities, is also one of the most troublesome obstacles on the road to lasting peace in the Middle East.

Officially, at least, Jerusalem's future is not on the agenda of the current Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. It is scheduled to be discussed in three years' time, when the two sides begin to negotiate the "final status" of disputed lands. But no one doubts that the Jerusalem problem will have to be dealt with eventually if the two peoples are to live in peace. As a former Jewish deputy mayor of the city, Meron Benvenisti, put it last week: "The Jerusalem case is always on the agenda."

The continuing struggle over the city dates back to the 1540 Arab-Israeli War, after which Jerusalem was divided by British war and cement walls into Israeli and Jordanian sectors. During the 1967 Six Day War, the Israeli army captured the Arab half of the city. Three weeks later, Israel annexed the former Jordanian sector, a move that many countries, including Canada, continue to oppose.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his Chief Minister Yasser Arafat have both stated their positions. Rabin insists that Jerusalem will remain the "undivided sovereign capital" of the Jewish state. Arafat, in two recent public statements, called for Jerusalem to be made a joint capital for Israelis and Palestinians, with no dividing wall. Meanwhile, the city's recently elected right-wing mayor, Ehud Olmert, has vowed to make sure that Israel's Labor government does not go back on its word. "We'll do everything in my power," he told "Mikotze," "to block any possible

suggestion of redividing Jerusalem, any compromise on the political status of Jerusalem."

In fact, the 35-year-old struggle of East and West Jerusalem has never truly been compromised. Most of the city's Arabs, now numbering about 150,000, have rejected an offer of Israeli citizenship. They have also declined to participate in municipal politics, although some have, on occasion, voted in local elections. Since the Palestinian intifada, an uprising, broke out in December, 1987, most of the 400,000 Jewish residents of Jerusalem have stayed clear of the Arab quarters. Fearful for their safety, they no longer shop in the Old City bazaars, dine at Arab restaurants or drive through the Arab streets outside the walls of the Old City.

Paradoxically, it is right-wing Israelis like Olmert who are doing the most to encourage the integration of Jewish and Arab neighborhoods. The new mayor says that Jews have the "right" to live anywhere in the city, including the old Muslim district, and is planning to build Jewish housing across the old "green line" border between East and West Jerusalem. His goal is to frustrate any future attempt at division by making it harder to identify distinct Jewish and Arab neighborhoods.

Benvenisti, on the other hand, as a longtime proponent of a so-called "borough model" for Jerusalem, which presupposes that the city can be divided into nine local districts along ethnic lines. Under such an arrangement, the city council would be responsible for broad strategic decisions, while local boroughs would look after day-to-day administration. "If the prime process is successful, I'm sure Jerusalem will not be a stumbling block," Benvenisti asserts. "A compromise will be possible, provided people have the equality and ambivalence to accept such a solution." After 3,000 years of conflict, the city of peace already seems its future at the dawn of a new millennium.

ERIC SILVERMAN in Jerusalem

FARMERS UNDER FIRE

GATT THREATENS CANADA'S AGRICULTURAL POLICY



For Ralph Goodale, the honeymoon has been brief. Just four weeks after he was appointed federal agriculture minister, Goodale faces the prospect of dismantling the core of Canada's agricultural policy and strapping thousands of farmers in the process. Under the current system, the government strictly limits agricultural imports and restricts the domestic production of chickens, milk, eggs and other commodities to maintain high, stable prices for farmers. But pressured by the wily U.S. members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) at last week's meetings at Brussels and Geneva, Goodale was finally forced to make a concession that trade experts have long anticipated: the abandonment of Canada's elaborate supply-management practices. While consumer groups and food processors applauded the prospect of lower food prices, Canadian farmers were grim. Said Jack Williams, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Federation of Agriculture: "None of us are exactly getting rich farming. People focus on a cheaper food but they forget that supply-managed products have much more stable prices."

However, with a deadline of Dec. 15 looming for the conclusion of

Farm protest in Geneva: consumer gain from farmer's pain

the long-delayed Uruguay Round of GATT talks, the European Community (EC) and the United States found a bilateral zone that left little room at the negotiating table for Canada's long-standing opposition to the replacement of existing agricultural export quotas with tariffs. That means that Canadian farmers, who have long been sheltered from competition, could face a two-pronged system where low-cost foreign commodities gain entrance to Canada, while another potential threat lies in GATT's proposed prohibition of "subsidized" subsidies such as previously funded milk programs. Last week, Canadian officials tried to salvage their program with a special "Canadian clause" that takes provincial powers into account.

Although there were several other issues under discussion at the GATT meetings, few have been as controversial as the prospect of free trade. In fact, when GATT was formed in 1947, the standard over agriculture resulted in special exceptions that allowed nations to retain export subsidies and import quotas on farm products. As a result, GATT has been plagued throughout its history with frequent and disruptive agricultural trade wars. In addition, entrenched national positions as agricultural trade, especially in Europe and the United

States, have been the principal impediment to the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round that began in 1986. As a result, last week's landmark agricultural agreement between the EC and the United States was only referred to be a critical turning point.

Still, Canadian farmers clearly intend to make their concerns heard. Some groups took out full-page newspaper advertisements protesting the proposed changes last week and, before returning to Geneva last week, Goodale was confronted in Quebec City by irate members of the Union des producteurs agricoles. Said Gerald Brinkman, chairman of the department of agricultural resources and business at the University of Guelph in Ontario: "Of course they're not resisting that—import quotas affect much more precise protection than tariffs."

Canadian food processors and consumers stand to benefit, too, if it is time for these changes to take place. According to their figures, a basket of food produced under supply management in Canada now costs about 70 per cent more than the identical basket of goods in the United States. Statistics also show that Canadian prices are double the world average for milk, 20 per cent higher for eggs and 20 to 50 per cent higher for chickens. In fact, such national restaurant chains as Toronto-based Pizza Place Ltd. claim that they could save as much as \$8 million a year if they were allowed to use imported mozzarella cheese. Norval Sanzra

Berlin, senior vice-president of government affairs for the Grocery Products Manufacturers of Canada, a group that represents the second largest domestic meat supplier, "Canada's whole supply management system is out of date for an age when the competitive response to customer needs is government. Free, open trade is a global risk—whether farmers like it or not."

While there were loud protests last week about the protection levels that would be offered by the proposed tariffs or the length of the period over which they would be phased out, it is expected that initial trade protection will be as high as 300 per cent for some products, dropping by an average of 50 per cent over six years.

Some observers, however, suggest that Canada's farmers are being so recklessly acquired—despite the gradual nature of the changes—because they are hoping for financial compensation from the federal government. In particular, established dairy and poultry producers are anxious to secure a buyout of the production quotas permits that they have purchased from commodity marketing boards. According to Guelph's Brinkman, the current value of those quotas for dairy producers ranges from \$200,000 to \$400,000 per farm. In total, some 27,000 Canadian farmers are directly under supply management.

To soothe farmers' fears and to avoid political backlash, the Conservative government made considerable concessions: a free trade exemption with the United States, to preserve supply management. Now, the need to bank domestic dollars at a time when exports are deeper than ever lend to the lobbying for the Canada clause at GATT. Said Ted Cole, an agricultural trade policy expert at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C.: "Governments have been terrified of tampering with agricultural universities. That's why there's no back-up strategy in place now."

But even among Canadian farmers, there is solid support for changes in GATT. Per cent. Robert Esquivel, a Saskatchewan wheat farmer and the president of the Western Canadian Farmers' General Association, says that supply management is obsolete. "Canada's taxpayers," he says, "don't have enough money to support those who can't compete in the world market. For the rest of the agriculture sector, where new government is committed to aggressively reducing the deficit, there were never needs of support."

AN AGRICULTURAL TRADE ODYSSEY

A chronology of the on-again, off-again negotiations by 116 members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

September, 1946: The Uruguay Round of GATT starts in Montevideo, Uruguay, to liberalize world trade and eliminate protectionism.

December, 1990: A GATT summit breaks up after the United States and the European Community (EC) fail to agree on significant reforms.

December, 1991: After GATT's director general of GATT, develops a proposal that includes cutting all agricultural subsidies by 50 per cent by 1995, converting farm quotas into tariffs and eventually ending them by 1997. The EC rejects the Danish plan.

December, 1992: After months of escalating trade tensions, the EC and the United States strike a deal known as the Bush-Hawke accord. Each cuts the EC's subsidized farm exports by 25 per cent over six years. France objects to those terms.

January, 1993: U.S. President Bill Clinton gets a "fast-track" authorization from Congress to Dec. 15 to complete the GATT deal.

December, 1993: A last-ditch effort to complete the Uruguay Round by Dec. 15 brings 116 trade negotiators to Brussels and Geneva for talks.

Business Notes

THE LI DECISION

The federal cabinet debated, but put off a decision on, a controversial proposal to raise by 50 to 75 percent the Unemployment Insurance premiums paid by workers and their employers. The fund has an accumulated deficit of close to \$6 billion and will have an estimated \$1.3-billion deficit this year. The proposed increase would bring maximum annual employer contributions to \$1,345-41, double the level of the past year.

CIBC'S RECORD LOSS

The Canada Deposit Insurance Corp., the Crown corporation that insures bank deposits, reported a record loss of \$69.1 million for 1992. Most of the loss stemmed from interest on government securities, including the corporation's controversial payment of \$3.7 billion to the Toronto-Dominion Bank to help the bank buy out troubled Centennial General Trust Co.

A MINIMUM TAX

Ontario's MCO government tabled legislation to introduce a minimum corporate tax. The tax is scheduled to take effect on Jan. 1 and will be introduced in stages, rising to a rate of 4 per cent of company profits by 1995. But only about 5,000 of Ontario's 175,000 companies will likely have to pay the tax. Companies with less than \$10 million in annual revenue or less than \$5 million in assets will be exempt. The government estimated that the tax will raise \$908 million a year.

XEROX CUTS

Xerox Corp. of Stamford, Conn., will eliminate more than 30,000 jobs, or 33 per cent of its worldwide workforce. The copier manufacturer also plans to close 50 unprofitable offices in 1993. The company will shut about half the total—including about 200 of Xerox's 4,800 positions in Canada—will be eliminated in 1994.

A DEBATE ON CBC EDIT

Ivan Frank, who announced last month that he would step down as a CBC vice-president and head of its English-language television programming, will join mail-order business Broadcast Inc. in January. Broadcast operates 30 television stations across Canada. Frank, 55, was one of the members of the CBC's so-called "impassioned" or its executive lineup last year, which included sweeping the network's newscast at 9 p.m. from 11 p.m.

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHELLE



Shopping is Vancouver's tidings of retail hope

BUSINESS

A seasonal shopping spree

Christmas retail sales bring better tidings in 1993

Throughout most of the year, Canadians who frequent La Senza, a Toronto chain of lingerie shops based in Montreal, are women who shop for their selves. But when the Christmas holiday season rolls around, a successful blend of customer service is more shopping for gifts for their wives and girlfriends. While the women know, of course, what size of bra to buy, they wear the new sedition du moment to understand their wives' sizes," said Laurence Lewis, president of La Senza Inc. This midsize—however fitting for the women involved—means extra work for store staff who must then handle the refunds or exchanges for the right sized garments. No matter. An accommodating gift return policy is just one of a number of strategies, from competitive prices to customer service, that La Senza and other Canadian retailers are using to attract recession-weary Christmas shoppers to open their wallets. It seems to be working: Lewis said that the 71-store chain is experiencing "substantial" sales increases over last Christmas.

December is traditionally a make-or-buy period for retailers. "As Christmas gets so

close, most of the press," said Donald Bennett, president of the Kmart Canada Ltd. department store chain. In fact, general merchandise stores typically make more than 50 per cent of their annual sales in December—and in some product categories, such as perfume, the percentage is 80 or more. Alexander McKelvie, president of the Retail Council of Canada, the Toronto-based trade association that represents more than 5,000 retailers nationwide, said that many retailers are upbeat about Christmas 1993. "It is shaping up to be a better Christmas than we have had in the past four years," he says in a survey released last month by Deloitte & Touche, a Toronto-based management consulting firm. In 1992, 1,223 consumers questioned planned to spend as much as they did last Christmas. And, notes McKelvie, "Past experience has shown that many shoppers postpone their sales and spend more when they plan it."

It has been a long time since retailers have had a Christmas as the Mack. Even before the recession hit in 1990, Canadian stores were losing business to competitors in the United States in cross-border shipments knifed short on bargains. By Christmas 1991, store owners

who had managed to stay afloat had to study prices before Christmas to compete with stores from across the border. In January, Statistics Canada declared the recession official, over last January. But the so-called jobless recovery has meant that most consumers have remained reluctant to spend freely.

There are still clear signs that a turnaround is imminent. Canadians are making fewer one-day trips to the United States—and while they are there they are spending less. In part, that is because the Canadian dollar has declined to 75 cents (U.S.) from 80 cents two years ago. Also last March, Ottawa eliminated import duties on hundreds of items not made in North America. As a result, McKelvie says, prices resulting from consumers spending goods are no longer a bargain across the border. As well, Canadian retailers have become better at negotiating better store costs, increasing staff productivity, reducing staff and clearing out inventory.

But many consumers have also become more focused. They cover rebelling, impatient. Ian Thomas, president of Thomas Chatham Inc., said that "people no longer have the discretionary time to stroll through the stores and hope they find something." Now, he said, "they had straight to the store they have it easily decided well after three weeks." Thomas added that many shoppers have developed a "service/skipper" mentality—skipping for the best possible prices on everyday items, then spending freely on high-ticket items. So far, he said, electronics and clothing stores have benefited from that trend. Indeed, Len Chasen is co-owner of The Broadway Store Co. in Saskatoon, and said that among the popular stores this year are new stereo sound-system options, which start at \$1,200.

But not all stores are benefiting from these changes. According to Frank Anderson, president of retail services for consumer consultants Arthur Andersen & Co., sales at department stores, whose traditional strength has been convenience, not price, are suffering. As a specialty lingerie store, La Senza (Anderson's point) does so, president Lewis remained reluctant to project too much more silk and satin. La Senza will sell in the weeks immediately before Christmas. "So far it looks good," he said. "But the best is retailing the too long to make any real predictions." Although retailing may be a marathon, it is the last hand-to-paw deal that counts.

JARVIS WICKENS

BUSINESS WATCH



Proclaiming NAFTA is a national shame

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

John Chretien won the election on three main pledges: that he would protect the defense department's Tipping Calceps helicopters, review and probably reject the secret deal privatizing Toronto's international airport, and reinstate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) so that it reflects Canada's national interests.

He made good on the first two promises, though the way will eventually require a lot of legislative shuffling and Pearson (after cabinet) will ultimately need legislative administrative arrangements. Despite the controversies they triggered, these were relatively minor issues with few long-term consequences.

But NAFTA is forever. The deal's impact will be nothing less than to place this country in the jaws of a magnet that will attract our economy and our society. Whatever elements of Canadian life that still function along their historical contours will be treated with north-south contempt. That will include highways and truck routes, what's left of the railways and future telecom infrastructure systems. Instead of perpetuating the nation's leading metaphor of Canada as stretching from coast to coast, our defining horizon now faces south.

We have become the closest not of a country, but of a continent that boasts 376 million consumers and a gross domestic product that, at \$75 billion in 1992, is \$1.5 trillion larger than that of Europe's united economies. It is all so much closer to us in a reality check, but how much influence will we have in this new constellation of political forces? Judging by Chretien's failure to alter a word in Canada's NAFTA agreement that he was pledged to change, the answer seems to be—roughly none.

To render the original Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) we were lured in the embrace of a mouse scratching the ear-ribside hole of an elephant, and under NAFTA we are about to assume the clout of a flea. The

mouse, for this reduced status—and the consequences may not be bad: determined flea can make even big boys squirm—is that the Mexican deal is only the first step in a set of offerings being promised by Washington to transform the hemisphere into its own play day care center, with the laboratories at dancing for the Yankee dollar.

This is no distant, empty theory. U.S. agreements to settle Chile into NAFTA are already under way, while Mexico—with the blessing of the U.S. state department—has signed bilateral agreements with such potential future NAFTA partners as Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica. Extensions to Colombia and Venezuela are also being discussed. It's all somehow reminiscent of the imperial intrigues first enacted by the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which was basically aimed at giving Washington sway over anything that moved between Asia: First at the potentially frozen edge of El Estero Island and Tierra del Fuego on Cape Horn, the windward tip of South America.

Even after he was ejected, at his last presidential news conference, Chretien was telling us that he would deny NAFTA's legitimization until he got some meaningful con-

cessions from the Americans on the treaty's provisions dealing with energy, water, airports, government subsidies and the trade-embodied application of environmental trade practices.

Selling Americans our water, which said to be late, may be the most precious asset we have left to offer, in the grand sense of North American trade agreements. Canadian water is not among the specifically excluded trading commodities listed in the NAFTA and FTA accords. Although Canadian officials deny they give away a single drop of the stuff, U.S. chief negotiator Mackey Knauer in October stated that water is a "good" like any other in the deal.

In energy, Chretien seemed nothing more than the naive protectionist whose fingers were signed with the Mexicans that allowed them to retain control over their oil and gas supplies at times of international shortages. In contrast, during such emergencies Canadians will have to place full faith in existing contracts to U.S. customers ahead of any additional oil and gas requests for domestic use—no matter how cold the winter. (Last year we exported 21 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 800,000 barrels of oil a day to the United States as part of existing long-term contracts.)

On other embarrassing points, working groups have been set up to harmonize definitions of national subsidies and to try to find ways to prevent the Americans from shipping anti-inflation and consumer import duties on our goods. The authority of these extra-parliamentary bodies is dubious, their results vague.

Apart from such administrative considerations, NAFTA's most severe impact on Canada is bound to be in industries with heavy labor content. Mexican wages are 30 per cent or so of comparable Canadian pay scales, with more than 100,000 Mexicans now working in auto-parts and assembly plants, most for wages between \$15 and \$25 a day. Andrew Johnson, senior economist with the Canadian Labour Congress, estimates that some 376 jobs will be threatened by the reduction of manufacturing jobs in Mexico once NAFTA becomes law on January 1, 1994.

Part of former U.S. president George Bush's motive for utilizing the NAFTA process was that future of the Mexican economy. They have left in their wake a massive hole in the Canadian economy. It is an estimated 300,000 Mexicans now move into the United States every year. "Why aren't there any Mexican winners and losers?" went a joke going the rounds at the 1994 Los Angeles Olympics. The answer, many say, is because who can win or lose already lives in the United States.

NAFTA is a treaty treaty and John Chretien has cabinet will proclaim it is shame. Yet again, a Canadian political leader finds himself trapped between the inevitable risk of history, splitting the world into trading blocs, and the reality of how that process will curtail Canada's short-term economic prospects.

"Lexus has redefined the luxury car market."

Nicholas V. Scheele, Chairman, Jaguar Cars Limited

Automobile, September 1992

"No maker has climbed the luxury echelon so quickly."

**Juergen Hubbert, Head of Passenger Car Division,
Mercedes-Benz AG**

Automotive News, September 28, 1992

"I tried the 12 and 8 cylinder Mercedes, but quite frankly I thought the Lexus was a much more modern car. It handles better, it's quieter and, although it's smaller on the outside, it's the same size inside for passengers and luggage."

**Sir David Brown, Honorary Life President,
Aston Martin**

Autocar & Motor, March 3, 1993

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The Reluctant Pursuit Of Perfection.

1993 The Year That Broke Its Promise

New deals give peace chance, but Canada's hopes of happier times are on hold

BY CARL MOLLINS

Oh, what a lovely year it started out to be. Signs of change for the better filled the first eight weeks of 1993. Canada and much of the rest of the world appeared to turn their backs on the dismal beginnings of the 1990s—the minutes of rising unemployment, chaos in Eastern Europe, wars on many fronts. For hope ran, at last, people everywhere would reap the promised rewards from the collapse of Soviet communism and the close of the Cold War at the start of the decade. The “new world order” would make life on the planet more secure. A “peace dividend” would make it more prosperous.

Right away, New Year's Day produced a harbinger when the Corbys and the Simkos split Czechoslovakia in two, it was done by mutual consent, instead of by blood. True, shortly afterward George Bush delivered a farewell message to Russia in the final week of his term as U.S. president. And Bill Clinton began his first day in the White House in like fashion. But at the time, those scenes seemed more like the death rattle of a defeated policy. They were drowned out by Clinton's inauguration-day pledge of “bold experimentation” in government and a call to his nation and to the world “to shape change, not a catastrophe.”

Change appeared as a live prospect then. On the morning of Feb. 21, the day after Clinton took office, Statistics Canada proclaimed the end of the recession: mortgage at least three years after it began. The national unemployment rate fell in both January and February. The cost of borrowing money, the steep interest rates blamed for the prolonged severity of the recession, dropped in tandem. On Feb. 24, Jean Chrétien announced plans to quit. The popular opinion for the prime minister's decision closed the eight weeks that promised a turn for the better. That marked the end of the honeymoon with 1993.

Immediately afterward two events offered only reminders of the old order's endurance. A terrorist bomb blew on Muslim fundamentalists tore through Manhattan's World Trade Centre, killing six and injuring hundreds. And on the last day of February, a Sunday U.S. federal agency stopped a sect of apocalyptic Christians in a fatal gunfight outside Waco, Tex., launching a battle that ended with the total destruction of the Branch Davidian settlement and everyone in it.

In March, the Canadian unemployment rate began to rise again. Ottawa passed a law that cut unemployment insurance benefits and made it harder for people without jobs to qualify for it.

Far much of the rest of the year, the march toward the new millenium was more like making lose. Governments changed, but little else. The disappearance of the *Slobodan* the assassination on

Yugoslavia's catastrophe that killed the liveshades of tens of thousands of people, began to look like that, if not permanent. Joy for the millions hunkered down against a relentless economic slump, was holding on to a job and the layoffs. For citizens of Sarajevo and Sana'a and Haiti, not scores more communities besieged by crime and war, happiness was simply staying alive.

Still, against the grain of the year, peace not order gained footholds against killing and chaos on two of the most volatile fronts, in the Middle East and in South Africa. But that either of those places were



PHOTO OF THE YEAR

With Clinton at the White House on Sept. 13, Rabin and Arafat sealed a pact for Palestinian self-rule on Israeli-occupied lands

freed from bloodshed. But a pact in September between Israeli and Palestinian leaders negotiated in Washington between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, produced the promise of a low level of coexistence of Jew and Arab in the Holy Land.

In the same week that Israel and the PLO

reached agreement on a new land occupation, a multiplicity to conclude in South Africa agreed to end more than 300 years of white-minority rule. Extremists on both sides of the black-white divide responded in violence. Despite that, President F. W. (Frederik) de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, leader of the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize, pressed on toward the country's first universal, non-racial election on April 27, 1994.

But the new world order and the peace dividend? Those are the notions of yesterday, supplanted by dangers more suited to a fearful era. It has been a year marked by tragedy. In Canada, successive leaders were troubled by government deficits that, measured against the nation's total annual productive wealth and the size of the budget deficit, are smaller than when Canada fought its way out of the last recession a decade ago. The watchwords of 1993 became individualism that demanded individualism. Competitiveness! Globalization! The pressure on people to compete with the rest of the world for wealth and well-being, whatever the human cost, spawned a lesson that spells personal anxiety and hardship—do-by-yourself management, downsizing or right-sizing staff, negotiating social contracts—all to create “negative growth” in payoffs, unemployment insurance and social programs.

The year 1993 also marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of Robert LeRoy Ripley, the creator of Ripley's *Believe It or Not!* ☐



IMAGES OF 1993

THE WAY CANADA ADDS UP

All in all, the country's performance gets a middling mark

Considerers grew modestly in 1993—in numbers, in wealth and in knowledge of themselves. The population expanded by slightly more than one per cent, a slower rate than in recent years, to top 30,750,000. The value of made-in-Canada goods and services rose at a quicker rate than in recent years, although that isn't saying much after a slump. About 130,000 more people had jobs towards the end of 1993 than a year earlier, but there were still about 300,000 fewer employed people than when the recession began in 1980. The electorate learned at the ballot box on Oct. 25 that its capacity to punish those in political power is awesome. It reduced Conservative ranks in the Commons by 96 per cent, favouring Preston Manning's Reformers on

both sides of the Rockies. Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois in Quebec and Jean Charest's Liberals everywhere else. One other result was significant growth in the number of prime ministers in a single year, from one to three—matched only twice previously, in 1896 (McKenzie Bowell, Charles Tupper, Wilfrid Laurier) and 1954 (Pierre Trudeau, John Turner, Brian Mulroney). And records were set twice in the number of living former prime ministers, which had never previously exceeded three at any time. The total reached four on June 30 (Joe Clark, Trudeau, Turner, Mulroney) and then became five on Nov. 4 when Kim Campbell gave way to Jean Chrétien. Ninety-six of the 28 leaders to have served as PM in the 125½ years of Confederation, six of them (30 per cent) are alive now.



After Brian Mulroney (right) became yesterday's man on June 25, Kim Campbell (top left) became the first woman, the first British Columbian and, at 46, the first person born after the Second World War to hold the Prime Minister's Office—but only for 132 days, then the voters awarded power to Jean Chrétien (above).



Two 1993 court cases provoked debate: Karla Blavatsky went to prison for 12 years in the deaths of two girls; Juan Rodriguez (below) lost an appeal to end her life





Contraventions dogged austerity policies pursued by governments and business: Ontario public servants protest days off without pay; a Newfoundland boy watches over a catch (above right) after Atlantic fishery shutdowns cost thousands of jobs; Canadian Airlines staffers (below right) join rally in support of a merger with American Airlines; U.S. environmentalist Robert Kennedy Jr. goes where to join protests over logging in Clayoquot Sound, B.C. (below)



IMAGES 0993



In shifts of premier power, Alberta's Ralph Klein built his way to victory (top); after Québec's Robert Bourassa (below) bowed out, Daniel Johnson (above left) was set to succeed him; Prince Edward Island's Catherine Callbeck (contra) became the first elected women premier; John Savage (right) took over in Nova Scotia



A TROUBLED WORLD



Amid the clash of factions, hopes rise on two fronts

Pover-sharing agreements among South Africa's whites and non-whites, and between Israel's Jews and Arabs, defied the prevailing pattern of inter-ethnic strife in those communities and many others. The clash of religions, races, clans and factions brought death and devastation to the southern reaches of the former Soviet Union, most ferociously in Georgia and Azerbaijan, and to the City of London, a target of Irish Republican Army bombers. Violence beset the ruptured regions of the former Yugoslavia, most bloodily in Bosnia, and struck Moscow, where President Boris Yeltsin invoked force to set-

tle a standoff with the Russian parliament. The people of Bosnia, and of Somalia, were victims not only of their internal disputes, but also of the impotence of outside powers in trying to end their agonies. Nature also dealt out calamities. Americans suffered a brutal March storm in Florida, summer floods in the Mississippi basin, and autumn fires in California. Earth itself rose up against northern Japan on July 12, when scores of people died in a quake and tidal waves, and against southwestern India on Sept. 30, when an earthquake killed thousands. As cruel as people were to people in 1993, nature often proved as vicious.



Clockwise from top left: five rages at Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Tex.; Illinois family battles the swollen Mississippi; tanks crush rebellions at Russia's parliament; President F. W. (Frederik) de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela set South Africa on a new course; Haiti's Justice Minister Guy Malary is assassinated amid political chaos





IMAGES OF 1993



Clockwise from top left: an IRA bomb in April devastates the City of London; a firefighter rescues a woman from a brushfire in Malibu, Calif.; blinded schoolboy Saeed Bekrie is evacuated from the Bosnian town of Srebrenica, scene of intense fighting; woman in southwestern Indian village mourns her losses in an earthquake that kills thousands

PEOPLE MAKING WAVES



Celebrities all: naughty, nice or just plain bizarre



Clockwise from top left: Michael Jackson is pursued by boy-crazy stories; John Donajmuk is freed from his prison cell after Israel's Supreme Court overturns a death sentence for Holocaust crimes; Mickey Henderson (left) and Joe Carter hoist the World Series trophy; controversy follows Naomi Wolf and her thesis that the 21st century belongs to women

Six made new headlines for American celebrities whose popularity thrives on sexuality and gender-bending, sometimes explicitly, as often ambiguous. Michael Jackson broke off a November concert tour and went to ground in Europe amid accusations from a 13-year-old male Californian—and then from Jackson's sister La-Toya—that he molested little boys. Earlier in the fall, there was little ambiguity about the munchy Madonna's "Safe Sex" tour, nor her language en route. The tour opened in Toronto (although she had vowed never to return there after Toronto police had investigated her performance in 1990 for "lewd behavior on stage"). She made her second stop in Philadelphia on the very night that the Toronto Blue Jays, across the street from the Madonna show, bested up the Phillies 19-3. Madonna's four-letter-worded Toronto and the Blue Jays from the stage, which did not diminish the Toronto players from their show, nor from their second World Series trophy in a row. On a whole other level, American writer Naomi Wolf provoked a different sort of debate in clashing with another F-word, feminism, in her latest book, whose title almost tells it all: *Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How It Will Change the 21st Century*.



Clockwise from far left: Madonna performs with a dancer in her 'Girlicious' show; Vancouver's Michael Smith won unexpected prominence for his Nobel Prize in chemistry; Kate Pace won the world downhill ski title; B.C. politicians Gordon Wilson and Jodi Tjebke confessed to being 'nerds in love'; Kurt Browning skates to a world championship



John Birks (Dizzy) Gillespie: The New York City jazz trumpeter, who pioneered the "bebop" style in the 1940s, accidentally bent his trumpet against his teeth in 1952 and found the sound so much fun that he had all of his subsequent horns made that way. He died at 73 on Jan. 6 in Englewood, N.J., of pancreatic cancer.



Kate Reid: A native of London, England, who came to Canada as a child, the married actress began a long association with Ontario's Stratford Festival in 1959. On Broadway, she won two reviews for the alcoholic heroine in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* She made many TV and film appearances, including the movies *The Godfather: Part II* (1974) and *Atlantic City* (1980). Reid, 62, died in Stamford on March 27 of cancer.



Raymond Burr: Born in New Westminster, B.C., he was best known for his TV portrayal of lawyer Perry Mason (1957 to 1963) and as a wheelchair-bound detective in *Voyage of the Nipper* (1967). He also had more than 60 film credits. At 76, he died on Sept. 12 of kidney cancer at his home near Woodbury, Calif.

IMAGES OF 1993

THE YEAR'S DEATHS

Rudolf Nureyev: The flamboyant Russian, a member of the Kirov Ballet and the first to dance to the West in 1961, ranked among the greatest ballet artists of the century. Suffering from AIDS, he died in Paris at age 54 on Jan. 6.

Audrey Hepburn: Born Edda van Heemstede Hepburn-Kinton in Belgium, the stage and screen actress won an Academy Award for her role in *Roman Holiday* (1953) and appeared in 28 other films. She later served as goodwill ambassador for the United Nations Children's Fund, dying of colon cancer on Jan. 20 at her home in Tachikawa, Switzerland, at age 63.

James (Jamie) Bulger: Abducted in a Liverpool shopping centre on Feb. 12, the high-spirited two-year-old was allegedly beaten to death by schoolboys Robert Thompson and Jon Venables, both 12, in a crime that shocked the world and led to the pair's conviction and indefinite detention for murder in November.

Lillian Gish: In a career that spanned more than 55 years from the silent film era, she appeared in over 100 movies, including 48 by legendary director D. W. Griffith—among them, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). At 90, she died of heart failure in New York City on Feb. 27.

Federico Fellini: Italy's greatest film-maker was renowned for his bizarre and often autobiographical movies. He won Academy Awards for four of his films, including *8½* (1963) and *Amarcord* (1973), and received a lifetime achievement Oscar last spring. He died at 73 on Oct. 31 in Rome after a heart attack.

Gillespie, pioneer

Kate Reid: A native of London, England, who came to Canada as a child, the married actress began a long association with Ontario's Stratford Festival in 1959. On Broadway, she won two reviews for the alcoholic heroine in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* She made many TV and film appearances, including the movies *The Godfather: Part II* (1974) and *Atlantic City* (1980). Reid, 62, died in Stamford on March 27 of cancer.

Reid: actress

Raymond Burr: Born in New Westminster, B.C., he was best known for his TV portrayal of lawyer Perry Mason (1957 to 1963) and as a wheelchair-bound detective in *Voyage of the Nipper* (1967). He also had more than 60 film credits. At 76, he died on Sept. 12 of kidney cancer at his home near Woodbury, Calif.

Pelle Escobar: Head of the powerful Medellin cocaine cartel, with an 800-kilogram cache seized at St. John's, he escaped prison in July, 1988. But he died at 44 in a hotel fire caused on Dec. 2 as Colombian policemen and soldiers opened fire on his Medellin hideout.



Nureyev: flamboyant



Bulger: shocking



Gish: pioneer



Reid: actress



Burr: lawyer



Escobar: powerful



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Highly profitable pursuits

By now, the story has become the stuff of legend, heard down from drummer to drummer in a heady haze of dollar signs. It was a rainy December afternoon in 1979 when musicians Chris Haney and Scott Abbott settled down to play yet another game of *Scrabble*. Haney, then the photo editor at *The Montreal Gazette*, noticed that four pieces were missing and no one out to buy another one. It cost \$26. When Haney returned, he threw the *Scrabble* box on the kitchen table and complained about the high price. "These guys must make a killing," he said to Abbott, then a sports writer at *Canada Press*. They decided to invest their own game set, 35 dollars later, *Trivial Pursuit* was born. The premise was simple: players would move around the board by answering trivia questions in six colored categories. That it took years of bugging, along with help from Haney's older brother, John, and lawyer Sid Winick, to get the project off the ground. In 1984, after some initial tests in Canada, they launched it in the United States—and the rest is board game history. "It's like we became rock stars," says Haney. "People still shake in their boots when they meet us."

That may be a bit of an exaggeration, but this the *Trivial Pursuit* tycoons are used to thinking big. Questions just how big has the game become? In



Answer more than 50 million have been sold in 25 countries and 15 languages, generating estimated revenues of more than \$1 billion. *Baldersh* and *Clueless* versions are now in development. The game has spawned a fortune teller, several TV shows, dozens of novels and bookends if not thousands of trivia pub leagues. Moreover, its success inspired a flurry of centrality at Canada, where board games have been a traditional staple of long winter seasons and long, cold winters. By the late 1980s, Canada had become a global hub of board game invention, with hit like *Baldersh*. Scrabble and *MindTrap*. Even *Pictionary* was created by a Vancouver artist living in Seattle. These successes are much to *Trivial Pursuit*, which acknowledged the entire industry, listing games from the kitchen tables of family like to the la-



Canadian holiday shoppers can choose from hundreds of board games on store shelves. A survey of some of the homegrown favorites:

Baldersh (Baldersh) (\$35) What is the meaning of 0 C.C. (Glenice) Get Glad? What happened on May 1, 1967? (Lisa) mented President? The beauty of this popular game, created by a young Toronto couple in 1984, is that players do not have to know the answers; they just have to bluff other players into thinking they do. It is the board game for con artists and it's *Trivial Pursuit* on steroids.

Scrabble (\$19.95) A Canadian college professor invented this distributing game in 1949 to test people's abilities. Would you squish a beetle in your kitchen? Would you lend your car to a friend who you are out of town? Did George really want to know that Harry would

cost his neighbor's wife, is Harry his neighbor? **Punny You Should Ask (\$29.95)** Is this new release from Northern Games, the shortest player automatically becomes the game boss. Unfor-

tunately, that is the funniest part in the game. Players have to guess opponents' professions if you had an Italian son, would you name him Gino or Pasquale? Who came?

MindTrap (\$29.95) First released in 1981, this intriguing game forces players to solve puzzles, riddles, and trick questions. How could Bill Brady shoot his wife at the movies and make out with the body? He shot her at a drive-in theatre. The answers often seem partially easy—after they are revealed.

Pictionary (\$24.95) Players have 90 seconds to draw pictures that will make their partners guess particular words. Stock figures are more effective than words at it. But what exactly does an improv mental look like? A good time-passer (overlaid with pencils).

Trivial Pursuit (\$29.95) The special 10th anniversary edition offers the best general knowledge questions of the past 10 years. For winners, there is no better game for being superior to friends. For losers, it just tests a bunch of useless knowledge anyway.

night living rooms and bars of adult entertainment. "Before *Trivial Pursuit* were simply an adult board game," says Michael Dupuis, director of marketing for Milton Bradley and Parker Brothers, makers of classic family games like *Monopoly* and *Clue*. "They created a whole new market."

It is a market that *Trivial Pursuit* continues to dominate, accounting for an astonishing 37 per cent of all adult board game sales. For Haney and Abbott, now wealthy entrepreneurs, victory is sweet. When they offered \$1,000 share packages in the venture to workmates, most of them laughed. "I heard people call them small-time shysters," says Derrick Ramsey, the only person at the *Gazette* who chose to invest. He cashed a savings bond and wrote a postcard check to cover his \$1,000 promise. Haney and Abbott also convinced a designer to accept shares instead of payment, using the prototype to market the game at toy shows and small retail stores, before

Toronto-based Christian Products Inc. picked it up for national distribution. In total, the pair received 32 investments, most of which put in more than \$200,000. By the mid-1980s, all were rich—although just how rich is not clear. Ramsey, who still edits the *Gazette's* weekly entertainment listings, allows "Let's just say I've made more than six figures and less than one million."

For Canadian entrepreneurs, making board games suddenly seemed like a ticket to print money. After watching TV host Alan Thicke interview *Trivial Pursuit's* founders in 1983, Bruce Tawes, an entrepreneur of his own or decided to launch his own game in Edmonton. "I thought that if this crazy bunch of guys could do it, so could I," says Dennis. The first effort, a cause-and-effect game called *Lucky Luck*, sold 200 copies. He later started Northern Games Co. Ltd., which was almost an immediate success with ideas from other entrepreneurs. "We will get at least 10 calls a week," says Dennis, who has since launched 15 other board games, including *Avatar* game stars strike it rich. "People would want to talk some rich," Richard Four. Dennis is a Toronto lawyer, was another of the risk-takers. His game, *MindTrap*, sold more than 100,000 copies last year and is now being licensed in Europe.

In creating out a new market, though, *Trivial Pursuit* made success look depressingly easy. For most board game inventors, the way to delectable success lies in a handful of broken dice. Most now 1,000 board games are launched in North America each year, with only a handful landing beyond our borders. Thousands more die at various stages of development. In 1982, Mark Illescu decided to create a spelling and definition board game with a friend at the University of Western Ontario. The students worked for two years on *OrthoWord*, raising \$300,000 to develop and test it. In the end, they were told that \$300,000—mostly in cash and bonds. "It needed some changes," says Illescu, who says the game became a little too complicated. "But we didn't have the financing to fix it."

Toy manufacturers say that horror and slayage are the key ingredients of a good adult board game. "The feeling for a party in a box," says Kenney Abbott, a vice-president of Brunswick, Ont.-based Games Inc., makers of *Baldersh's* trademarked sister that was created in 1984 by the game's creator, Bruce Robinson, and his son, a boyfriend, advertising copywriter Paul Tague. Abbott says that wa-

ring games stick to a basic formula: they create interaction between players, say via enough skill and luck that everyone has a chance to win, their rules are easy to understand, and one can win in 30 minutes or less, and they are entertaining to play. The latter, says Abbott, is where Canadians have the greatest advantage. "I think Canadians are generally funnier than Americans or a lot of other cultures," he says. "The weather forces us to make ourselves fun."

Although video games, board games, and other entertainment, older board games remain popular. *Monopoly*, developed in 1933, still sells more than 300,000 copies each year in Canada alone. "Parents still choose games they remember playing as children," says John Christopher, an independent toy consultant. Games being families together. But out to play a board game and watch TV at the same time? And, unlike TV watching, game players are active participants and the entertainment value changes with the cost of characters.

So, does the level of interest—a fact that the *Trivial Pursuit* founders have explained their further profits. They have created special editions for children, sports fans, movie buffs, and current affairs parties, as well as for school and countries. They have also added new trivia questions each year to the standard game. Other companies have jumped on the trivia bandwagon, creating games in subjects ranging from the Bible to bug trays. "People love to test their knowledge," says John Ware, president of Hoot Abbott Ltd., the company owned by the game's founders. "Everyone you turn new there's another trivia contest."

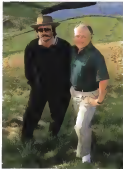
Well, almost everywhere: although *Trivial Pursuit* is a hit throughout Canada, it has not taken hold in Japan—a fact that Hoot Ware blames on cultural differences. "I think it's considered rude to invite people to your house and then host them in a board game," he says. Ware's success, while that competing for it, "seems to go against their social norms."

The intensity of competition in *Trivial Pursuit* has led to some critics at home as well. "There seems to be so many fights when people play," says John Deacon, a Perth-based games reviewer. "After struggling your shoulders, a few lines and muttering 'I don't know,' a lag still develops on the evening." In response, Deacon came up with *Trivial Pursuit*, in which players discuss different ways of dealing with rules, such as a child imitating in public. After they agree on an answer, they turn to see what experts suggest. Although Deacon sells his products largely through

mail order, he recently agreed to let a Swedish company manufacture 100,000 copies for sale in Europe. "People want a game that is pleasant to play," he says. "Losing really has a good taste."

Maybe that with *Trivial Pursuit* continuing to win over new consumers, Haney and Abbott are having a good time indeed. The former photo editor now lives in a mansion home in Colorado, a well-kept Toronto suburb, and he spends the better part of most days at one of the two game houses he and Abbott own. Dennis Polak and Dennis's brother, who says he is now working in law, started this. "Haney says of his board game parties, 'But I didn't think there was this much to game.' Yet years and countless interviews later, among the only questions left unanswered is since when do the rich (and U.S. college football) know quality as general knowledge?"

A decade later, Trivial Pursuit continues to make money and inspire imitators



Haney (left) and Abbott "like rock stars"

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PAGE 2

FILMS

trance, as a white man infused with the intelligence of Indian wisdom. But his measured performance looks more like a poor impersonation of Marlon Brando playing the sensitive soldier in *Apocalypse in a Golden Eye*.

Geese Hackman, meanwhile, portrays another Indian fighter admired by the enemy for his bravery. Big Guy George Crook, Geronimo's outstanding officer. Something of a hero for his race, Geronimo have Apache scouts to track and fight Apache remnants. The woodsman is a grizzled frontiersman named Al Sieber played with grit and wit by Robert Davul. Sieber tries to kill Indians—his body is riddled with the scars of 17 bullet and arrow wounds. But even he is an honorable man who respects his foe.

The bad guys, emerging from a living general to a gang of bounty hunters, are of unusual characters. That may explain the odd lack of dramatic tension in *Geronimo*. The movie offers a watchable history lesson. The action scenes, which include some stirring horseback riding against the red and white of Geronimo's band. Desert, are breathtaking. And everything is filmed in a lovely house light. But *Geronimo* remains an enigma, as if surrounded by well-meaning white guys. Another case of too many chiefs and not enough Indians.

BAD BEHAVIOUR

Directed by Les Blair

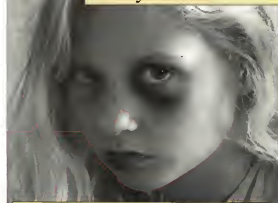
It is one of those featherweight British films that seem to come out of nowhere, without an ounce of hype, but with loads of charm. In a Christmas season bordered with big Hollywood movies about serious issues—Schindler's List (romantic), Witness and Earth (warfare) and Philadelphia (AIDS)—a warm and welcome little *Bad Behaviour* is a well-observed comic drama about marriage, middle age and domestic violence. Stephen Rea (who made his mark last year in *The Crying Game*) and Sandra Cusack (who costarred with husband Jeremy Irons in *Hush*) play an Irish couple. Gerry and Ellie, living in London with two children. Both their house and their marriage are in need of shaking up.

They hire two men who, along with a handy contractor, provide a framework of humor. But the heart of the film lies in the droll backchat between the two protagonists. Gerry, an often gloomier, is a designer model of passive-aggressive behavior, avoiding his wife with a dry wit while contemplating a fling with a younger woman at work. Ellie, who works part time in a bookshop, provocatively forces their marriage while trying to get her husband to talk about their relationship. The dialogue, imported from a two-page routine, has a natural, glibly tarted. Although *Bad Behaviour* darts with jokes, it keeps moving away from them at the last minute, offering subtle warmth right down to a delightfully rugged ending.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Family Violence

It really hits home



She's nine years old and already she's learned that love hurts.



Family Violence
It really hits home

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FOR THE RECORD

Christmas crooning

Burne it on Bing. Ever since Crosby crooned like any onto the pop charts with *White Christmas*, Yuletide tunes have become a predictable—well, at times, undesirable—staple of the record industry. Every year, artists feel compelled to don their fur apparel and trot out new versions of old favorites. Sometimes, they are inspired—like last year's release of Janis Joplin's *Santa Got a Brand New Girl*. But more often, they are obligatory of facts that lack invention. Seasonal songs come in classical, country, rock and reggae varieties. From pop renditions have begun to appear.

Justified by recent albums, Canadian artists are reconstructing old Christmas carols, singing familiar ones in a different language or offering critically original compositions.

Taking an archeological approach to the past, Bruce Cockburn has inscribed some rare gems on his long-awaited collection, *Christmas (True North/Song)*. Drawing material from an old card book his library gave him and from vintage recordings in his own collection, Cockburn presents a true mix of obscure or forgotten holiday tunes. Gospel songs such as *Early on Our Christmas Morn* and *Mary Had a Baby* have a vitality lacking in many carols. And numbers like the terrific *Down in the Forest*, an early American folk song, and the haunting-sounding *Alas My Child*, a 19th-century Spanish composition, offer sober reflections—a refreshing contrast to the season's incessant good cheer. The unapologetic also performs international and vocal versions of better-known carols such as *Joy to the World*.

But the standout, and the one for which Cockburn deserves the most credit, is from *Albion*, otherwise known as *The House Carol*, which is probably the first Canadian Christmas hymn. The singer recorded the 17th-century composition, attributed to Isaac Watts, Jean de Brébeuf in the language of the Huron Indian tribe. (Translator John Secley, a professor of native studies at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ont., insisted that in pronunciation.) The result is both a passionate musical number and a faithfully rendered piece of Canadian history.

Susan Aglukkaq is mixing history of her own: the last singer has just released her

first collection of carols sung in Inuktitut. Her selected album from 1981 may also be the only recording to thank a disabled man in its liner notes. But Aglukkaq, the daughter of an arctic Protestant minister, has more than novelty going for her. There is a warmth and purity in her voice that makes her sound Irish, even angelic, an excellent carol like *Little Town of Bethlehem* and *Silent Night, Holy Night*. And one English

Canadian artists celebrate the holiday season with song



Cockburn: rare gems in a festively crafted collection

song, *Little Ty Ty Tine*, shares with a joyful old crooner.

While her voice possesses undeniable charm, much of the album is rather dull. Although she has expressed her intention to sing more indigenous music, and has already recorded a Deane song with tribal drummers, Aglukkaq's Christmas album is a descent of native tradition and spirit. Most of the numbers are performed in a passionate country style. And the world badly needs another rock version of *Santa Claus Is Coming to Town*, even in Inuktitut. Still,

Aglukkaq's aboriginal talent will likely lead her to more innovative directions.

Veterans Sharon, Lois and Bram have built their careers on a foundation of political correctness, embracing as many cultures as possible. And their new release, *Canada, Snow & Mud: The Oliphant/Alvin*, billed as "a family celebration of Christmas and Chanukkah," is no exception. The 24-song album includes a United Nations-style *Twelve Days of Christmas* complete with verses in Japanese, Hindi, American and Swedish. Despite its good intentions, *Canada, Snow & Mud* suffers from mind-numbing correctness. And musically, with their longstanding reliance on violoncelle and double bass, Sharon, Lois and Bram are beginning to wear this hat, boring.

The thought of this MacNeil singing holiday songs might also drive cracks in Scorsese-like reactions. After all, MacNeil has a fondness for heartily belted ballads and a personality as sweet as plain pudding. But *Once Upon a Christmas (Upon/Virgin)* smacks saccharine sentimentality by dwelling on old Victorian classics. All but two of the album's 10 tracks are original compositions. And several, sung with her patented emotional clarity, are a cut above the usual Christmas pop fare.

Two songs, *Angels Light* and the a cappella *Amazing Grace*, are simple yet rings, at Christ's birth, while *A Night to Remember* is a stirring of reflection of faith. But *The Gift of Love*, dedicated to her mother's generous spirit, is the album's most moving number. With its deeply personal lyrics, MacNeil proves that her unaffected vocal style is still her greatest gift.

Finally, for those who believe that carols and hymns are meant to be sung by choirs, the latest release from the Montreal-based *Montreal Gospel Choir* is cause for celebration. *Joy to the World (Union Time)*, however, is a far cry from traditional Christmas albums. With material ranging from Gregorian chants to jazz and reggae, and lyrics sung in Latin, German, French and English, the recording has as many surprises as a well-stuffed stocking.

The choir holds its own on *Shall's Gloria in Excelsis Deo* and offers a gleaming French rendition of *What Child Is This*. But a really wrong on gospel numbers like *Go Tell It on the Mountain* featuring pastor Kathleen Dwyer's jazzy vocals. And the choir's best-casted calypso melody is rhythmic enough to prompt a hula dance in the middle of Christmas dinner. With its idiosyncratic style, the Montreal Gospel Choir does a hard way towards making this year's holiday season a joyful one.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

Frail body, vital mind

last of narcissistic reflection and practical ab-

Laugh also chronicles an emotional journey, one that took Raye from denial and anger to the slow acceptance of his destiny.

not ruled out the possibility of undertaking yet another ambitious project, although he declines to say what it might be. Beth rolls her eyes and says, "I don't want to know." She recognizes that the stunted, severely handicapped man in the wheelchair is sterile and undesirable.

Both and Dennis Kane. He is remarkably undisturbed by his devastating condition.

ration. His roots became "change—adapt—change—adapt," he writes, adding, "What's the ability to hold a coach. I started wearing a pashm. When building a runner got to be too much, I grew a beard. And because I can't pull up my lip anymore, I have to wear sucking plates." Kaye even jokes about the physical effects of AIDS, as when he describes how simple laundry can now overwhelm

And, "My neck muscles have gotten so weak," he waxes, "I run the very best risk of laughing my head off." Kave credits his wife and his two daughters—Rebecca, 12, and Michaila, 9—with keeping him alive for so long. The two girls and his wife now look after all of his personal needs, including toy tasks that are often taken for granted, such as wetting his lips. Even with his family

PATRICIA CHESTNUT



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